

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES DEANE.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

1869-1870.

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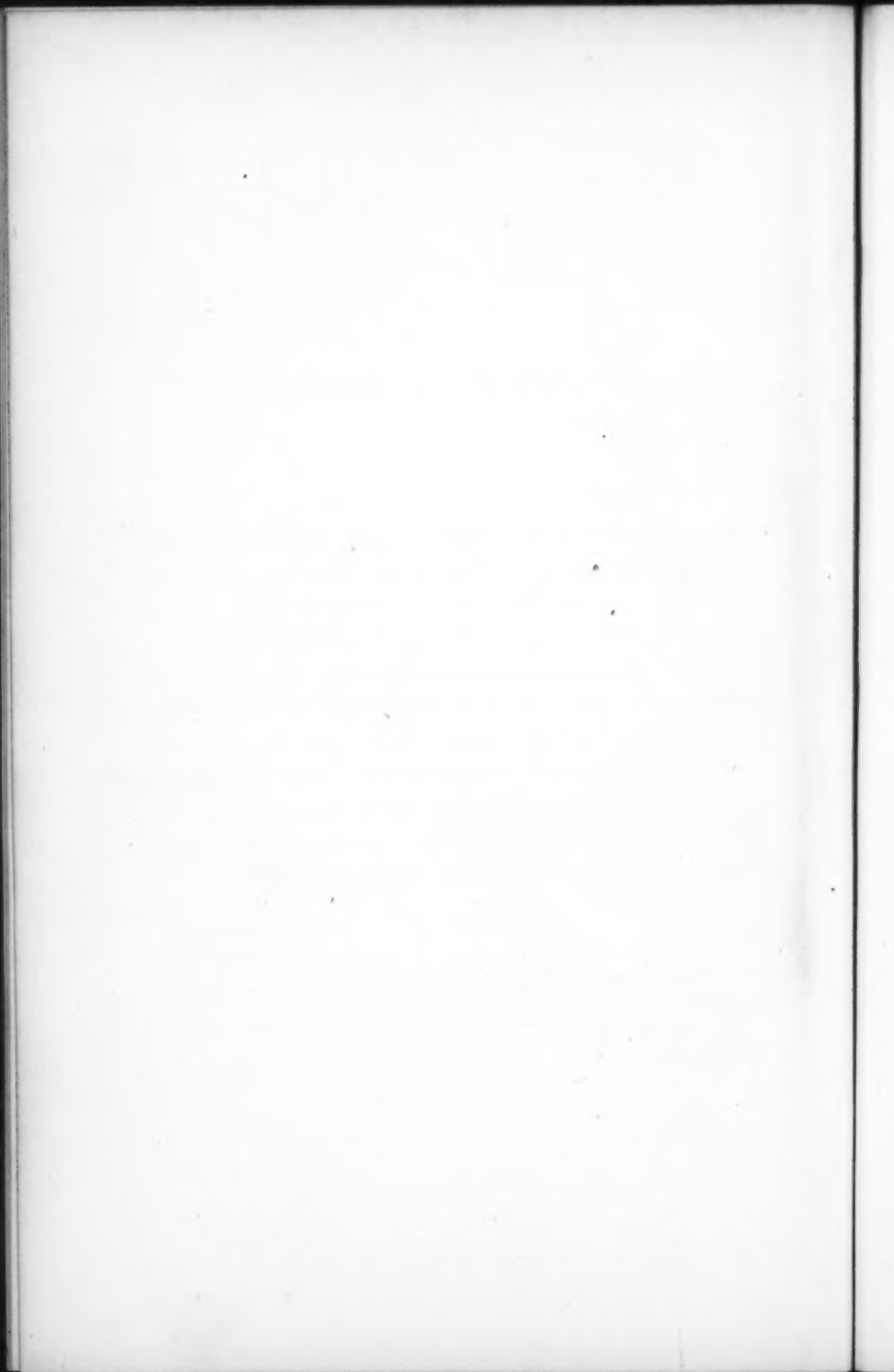
THIS volume contains a selection from the proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, beginning with the Annual Meeting in April, 1869, and ending with the stated monthly meeting in December, 1870.

The engraved portraits of the Hon. LEVI LINCOLN, LL.D., the Rev. ALVAN LAMSON, D.D., and the Rev. NATHANIEL L. FROTHINGHAM, D.D., were furnished by their respective families, at the request of the Committee; and that of ISAAC P. DAVIS, Esq., by our associate Mr. GEORGE T. DAVIS. They were engraved from photographs by the artists whose names they bear.

CHARLES DEANE,

For the Committee of Publication.

Boston, March 15, 1871.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Prefatory Note	v
Officers elected April, 1870	xiii
Resident Members	xiv
Honorary and Corresponding Members	xvi
Members Deceased	xviii

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1869.

Letter from Dean Stanley	1
Letter from Rev. W. H. Milman	2
Announcement by the PRESIDENT of the Death of Hon. George Folsom	3
Letter from Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull	5
Journal of a Tour to Connecticut in the Autumn of 1789, by Samuel Davis	9
Report of the Standing Committee	32
Report of the Treasurer	34
Report of the Librarian	41
Report of the Cabinet-Keeper	44
List of Officers elected	45
Memoir of Hon. Levi Lincoln, by Hon. EMORY WASHBURN. . .	47

MAY MEETING. 84

Letter from Henry I. Bowditch, M.D.	85
Remarks on Cornell University, by Hon. JOHN C. GRAY . . .	85
Draft of Instructions to Agents of Massachusetts Colony . . .	92
Biographical Sketch of Isaac P. Davis, Esq., by Hon. GEORGE T. DAVIS	94

JUNE MEETING. 100

Remarks by the PRESIDENT	100
Letter from Col. Brantz Mayer	103

	PAGE
Letter from Hon. Hugh B. Grigsby	105
Remarks of Mr. PARKMAN on a Letter from Gen. Montcalm to M. de Molé	112
Copy of the Letter in French and in English	117
Correspondence between Mr. Parkman and the Marquis de Montcalm	126
 JULY MEETING.	 129
Letters from J. Vernon to Joseph Williamson	131
 AUGUST MEETING.	 135
Letter from Capt. G. V. Fox	135
Letter from Commodore John Rodgers	136
Announcement of the Death of Hon. William Brigham, and Resolutions adopted by the Society	138
Letter from the PRESIDENT announcing the Death of William Winthrop, Esq.	139
Alphabetical List of the Sons of Liberty who dined at Dorches- ter, 1769	140
 SEPTEMBER MEETING.	 143
 OCTOBER MEETING.	 144
Announcement by the PRESIDENT of the Death of Rev. Joseph B. Felt	145
Resolution adopted by the Society	146
Remarks by the PRESIDENT on the Death of Mr. William Win- throp	146
Communication from Mr. WHITMORE relative to Rev. John Hutchinson	148
Remarks of Mr. LAWRENCE	151
Letter of Father Drullettes to John Winthrop, Jr.	152
 NOVEMBER MEETING.	 155
Announcement of the Death of George Peabody, and Resolution adopted by the Society	156

	PAGE
DECEMBER MEETING.	159
Memorandum from Mr. HENRY GILLMAN, accompanying a Gift to the Society	159
"Cardiff Giant" Controversy	161
Letter from Henry Pickering, Esq., to Hon. Charles W. Upham	162
SPECIAL MEETING, DECEMBER 21.	164
Letter from Mr. W. S. APPLETON, noticing the Death of John Bruce, F.S.A.	164
Letters read by the PRESIDENT	165
Paper on "The Forms used in issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England," by Mr. DEANE	166
Remarks on the same by Prof. JOEL PARKER	188
JANUARY MEETING, 1870.	197
Letter from Thomas Carlyle	198
Gifts from Mr. H. A. S. D. Dudley	201
Proclamation for a General Embargo, in 1711, by Gov. Joseph Dudley	206
Life of Gov. Thomas Dudley	207
FEBRUARY MEETING.	222
Letter from Mr. Charles E. Norton	223
Letter from Hon. Horace Binney to Hon. Hugh B. Grigsby	224
Letter relating to the Battle of Bunker Hill	226
MARCH MEETING.	228
Letter from Henry E. Pierrepont, Esq.	229
SPECIAL MEETING, MARCH 18.	231
ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1870.	233
Remarks by the PRESIDENT on the Death of Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck, LL.D.	233

	PAGE
On the Death of Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D.	235
Resolution adopted by the Society	238
Remarks by Dr. WALKER	238
Account of Capt. F. Lahrbush	241
List of Officers elected	243
Report of the Standing Committee	244
Report of the Treasurer	246
Report of the Librarian	249
Report of the Cabinet-Keeper	251
Letter from William Alexander Hyrne to William Tilghman	253
Letter from J. Francis Fisher, Esq.	256
Memoir of Alvan Lamson, D.D., by ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D.	258
Memoir of Hon. Charles G. Loring, by THEOPHILUS PARSONS, LL.D.	263
 SPECIAL MEETING, APRIL 28.	 291
Letters read by the PRESIDENT	291
Paper on "Medals and Coins relating to America," by Mr. W. S. APPLETON	293
Letter relating to the Battle of Lexington	306
"Original Bank Circular, 1809"	307
 MAY MEETING.	 308
Letter relating to the Death of William Pynchon	309
Paper by Hon. GEORGE T. DAVIS on the "St. Regis Bell"	311
 JUNE MEETING.	 322
Remarks by the PRESIDENT on announcing the Death of Winthrop Sargent, Esq.	322
Memorial to George Peabody in Westminster Abbey	325
Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Edmund Quincy	326
An early Paper of Daniel Webster on the Acquisition of the Floridas	329
Lines to the Besieged Inhabitants of Boston	331
 JULY MEETING.	 333
Remarks by Mr. W. G. BROOKS on exhibiting Specimens of Wall-coverings from the "Royal House" in Medford	333

CONTENTS.

xi

	PAGE
AUGUST MEETING. 335	
Communication by the PRESIDENT on the Hutchinson Papers	335
Letter from Daniel Clark to John Winthrop, Jr.	344
SEPTEMBER MEETING. 345	
Paper by LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D.	345
Letter from Rev. Robert C. Waterston to Mr. Deane	347
Tributes to Hon. John P. Kennedy, by the PRESIDENT	354
Prof. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL	365
Hon. GEORGE S. HILLARD.	367
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M.D.	369
Act for the Preservation of Ancient Town Records	370
Memoir of Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., by FREDERIC H. HEDGE, D.D.	371
OCTOBER MEETING. 388	
Anecdote of Governor Brooks	389
Extracts from Col. Paul Revere's Day-book	390
List of Protesters against the Solemn League and Covenant, and Addressers to Governor Hutchinson	392
Communication from Judge METCALF	395
Communication from Mr. DEANE respecting Governor Bradford's Dialogue	396
Copy of the Dialogue	407
Verses by Governor Bradford	465
NOVEMBER MEETING. 483	
Letter from Mr. Charles J. Hoadly	483
Account of a Portrait of Sir William Phipps, by Hon. GEORGE T. DAVIS	484
Letter from Hon. Hugh B. Grigsby	485
DECEMBER MEETING. 492	
Letter of Major Abraham Eustis, giving an Account of the Capture of York, now "Toronto"	492
Letter from Mr. George H. Chapman, containing an Account of the Fenwick Family	497
LIST OF DONORS 498	
INDEX 502	

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[xvi]

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members who have died since the publication of the last volume of Proceedings, June 1, 1869; or of whose death information has been received since that date: —

Resident.

Hon William Brigham, A.B.	Hon. David Sears, A.M.
Rev. Joseph B. Felt, D.D.	George Ticknor, LL.D.
Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D.	Joseph Palmer, M.D.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1869.

THE Society held its Annual Meeting this day, Thursday, 15th April, 1869, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The President said that the business of the Monthly Meeting would be proceeded with before that of the Annual Meeting was taken up.

The Cabinet-keeper reported a gift to the Cabinet, of one hundred and forty-two engraved portraits from our associate, Mr. Whitmore.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from Charles J. Stillé, of Philadelphia; from William W. Story, of Rome, Italy; and from Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster.

The letter from Dean Stanley here follows:—

DEANERY, WESTMINSTER, Feb. 27, 1869.

SIR,—I beg to return my sincere thanks for the great honor which has been done to me by my election as an Honorary Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Few rewards can be more deeply felt by an Englishman than the knowledge that any of his labors have been appreciated by his kinsmen on the further side of the Atlantic, and that he has in any way contrib-

uted to strengthen those bonds of intellectual and moral sympathy which make us feel that, amidst whatever differences of government, civil or ecclesiastical, we are still of the same flesh and blood, heirs of the same great race and language, — and hoping for a like glorious future.

It is one of the many charms of my present position in Westminster Abbey that one of the monuments in its walls is inscribed with the name of a Governor of Massachusetts, at a time when our countries were still undivided. I shall now regard it with a fresh interest, and shall hope to welcome any members of your Society to the Abbey, not merely as American citizens, but as my colleagues in the same institution.

I beg to remain, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY,

Dean of Westminster.

The Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, Cor. Secretary.

The President communicated from Francis Lieber, LL.D., a pamphlet by him, entitled "Fragments of Political Science on Nationalism and Inter-Nationalism."

He also communicated from W. F. Goodwin, Captain in the United-States army, now stationed at Richmond, Va., a book, in *fac-simile*, of the arms of Goodwin, and of Bradbury.

The President read a letter from A. W. Thayer, Esq., United-States Consul at Trieste, in which he presented to the Society a copy, kindly furnished by Barone Revoltella for the purpose, of a book, entitled "Il Diciasette Maggio M DCCC LXVII nei fasti della chiesa tergestina per la sapiente generosa pietà di Pasquale Barone Revoltella Imperituro: Memorie per Luigi Cesare Dr. Pavissich, * * * Trieste."

A beautiful volume, entitled "The Melrose Memorial," was presented to the Society, by the Town of Melrose.

Suitable acknowledgments were ordered for these several gifts.

The President read the following letter from the Rev. W. H. Milman, which, he said, though not intended for publication, was too interesting to be lost to our Proceedings: —

15, CORNWALL GARDENS, QUEEN'S GATE, W., March 2, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR, — I write at my mother's request, who even yet does not feel equal to acknowledging for herself kindness so great as

yours and Mr. Motley's, to thank you heartily for the handsome and affectionate tribute paid by you publicly to the memory of my dear father, and for the letter you were good enough to write to her.

I must also ask you to express to the Massachusetts Historical Society, my mother's gratitude for the Resolution of appreciation of my father's life and labors, and of sympathy with herself in her bereavement, passed by the Society.

The great sorrow consequent upon her loss has been not perhaps diminished, but emptied of much of its bitterness, by the gratifying testimony which has been borne by the foremost men of all classes and of all parties on our side the Atlantic, to the brightness of my father's talents, to the genial loving-kindness of his disposition, to the purity and simplicity of his character; and now it is a very great additional consolation to hear voices from across the ocean, which assure us that in the New World, too, he had won the admiration, the esteem, the affection of all that is most distinguished there; of all there whose kindly regard and approval is most worth having; whose praise is praise indeed.

You know my father never wrote to secure applause, never suppressed a conviction or modified an expression to gain it; yet when he had done his part, and his work had to be judged, there was no favorable verdict for which he looked more eagerly, or which more assured him that he had done well what he had done, than that which came to him from the great new home of our race.

As Mr. Motley signed his name to your letter to my mother, may I ask you to communicate to him this our answer?

Believe me, my dear sir, yours very truly and gratefully,

WILLIAM H. MILMAN.

The Honorable ROBERT WINTHROP.

The President spoke of the death of the Hon. George Folsom, a Corresponding Member, in the following language:—

The death of the Hon. George Folsom has recently been announced by an ocean telegram. He has been on the roll of our Corresponding Members since 1836. He was born on the 23d of May, 1802; was graduated at Harvard University in 1822; studied law in the office of Judge Shepley, at Saco, Me.; and, while a student there, wrote a history of some of the early settlements of that part of our country. He

entered on the practice of his profession at Worcester, Mass., where he soon became associated with the American Antiquarian Society, and, as Chairman of the Committee of Publication, edited the second volume of its Transactions.

About the year 1837, he removed to the city of New York, and became a member of the New-York Historical Society. He was soon elected its Librarian, and took a very leading part in the restoration of that Society to its original activity and usefulness. In 1841, he was the principal, if not exclusive, editor of a volume of Collections, devoted to the Dutch Annals of the State, upon which a very high value was placed by historical students. His next publication was a Translation from the Spanish, of the Despatches of Hernando Cortes, written from Mexico in 1520-1526, with a valuable introduction and elaborate notes. About the same time, he published anonymously a little volume, entitled "Mexico in 1842."

Mr. Folsom was elected to the Senate of New York in 1844, and thus became a member, *ex-officio*, of the Court of Errors of that State, in whose discussions and decisions his early legal training was turned to the best account. In 1850, he was appointed, by General Taylor, Chargé d'Affaires at the Hague, where he remained until 1854, discharging the duties, and administering the hospitalities of his mission, to the entire satisfaction of his own government, and of the country to which he was accredited.

After travelling in Europe for a couple of years, he returned to New York, and renewed his relations to the various literary and charitable associations with which he had been previously connected. He was a Director of the New-York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, President of the Citizens' Savings Bank, and President of the American Ethnological Society. The state of his health, however, had incapacitated him, of late, for any active pursuit of literary or historical studies; and he had repeatedly sought restoration in tours to Europe. He died at Rome on the 27th of March last.

Mr. Folsom married a daughter of the late Benjamin Winthrop, Esq., of New York, by whom he had several children, and through whom he enjoyed a large fortune. She died some years before him. His large and valuable library was the consolation of his darkened home and failing health.

Dr. ELLIS announced that the Sewall Papers, purchased by the Society, had been received by the Committee, from the Sewall family, and were now deposited in the Library of the Society.

Dr. HOPPIN spoke of having recently received a letter from the Rev. John Laviscount Anderton, of Chislehurst, Kent, England, a descendant of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, inquiring if Copley ever painted miniatures, he having in his possession a miniature of Mr. Oliver, said to be by Copley.

Remarks were made by Messrs. Whitmore, Amory, and E. Ames, all expressing the opinion that Copley, at one time, painted miniatures.

The President read the following letter from our Corresponding Member, J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford:—

HARTFORD, CONN., March 29th, 1869.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR,—Several years ago, you informed the Historical Society that you had discovered, in a manuscript memorandum by Ebeling, a possible solution of the question of authorship of the English translation of Chastellux's "*Voyages dans l'Amérique*." This memorandum gave the name of the translator as *Grieve*,—"living at Morly, near Paris," in 1787, or afterwards. A few months after your communication of this discovery, a writer in the "*Historical Magazine*," for January, 1863, called attention to the fact, that, in Watt's "*Bibliotheca Britannica*," the translation is attributed to "J. Kent, Esq.," and suggested that "*Grieve*" may have been an *alias*, assumed for purposes of secrecy.

John Kent, "a young man of good parts, upon town,"—as "*Junius*," wrote of him to Woodfall, in 1769,—translated Chastellux's essay "*De la Félicité Publique*," and published it, under the title of "*An Essay on Public Happiness*," &c.; and he afterwards (in 1776) pub-

lished a "Picture of the Condition and Manners of the People of Rome," &c. But I have not been able to find any authority for Watt's attribution to him of the translation of "*Voyages dans l'Amérique*," nor any evidence that Kent had ever been in this country. I have now sufficient proof that Watt was misinformed, and that Ebeling was right in ascribing the translation to a Mr. Grieve, — or, as he wrote his own name to a letter now before me, *Greive*, — who was living in France between 1783 and 1793.

As you remarked, in mentioning your discovery to the Society in 1862, that this question of authorship "had frequently engaged your attention," I shall offer no apology for communicating to you this evidence, — which, though circumstantial, appears to me to be conclusive.

From the translator's notes, we learn some particulars of his early life and of his social position. From an allusion to Dr. Witherspoon's "displays of eloquence at presbyteries and synods" (vol. i. p. 163), and from the mention of his "old friend Rumney," whom he met "after an absence of twenty years," at Alexandria, Va., it may be inferred that the translator's family lived near the Scottish border. Dr. Rumney's "father had been forty years master of the Latin school at *Alnwick* in Northumberland, and his uncle [the Rev. Joseph Rumney] clergyman of *Berwick*" (i. 66). The translator had "spent some years in the compting-house of one of the most considerable merchants of London, a *native of Switzerland*," having purchased that privilege by "the moderate premium of one thousand guineas" (ii. 355). He had been "the intimate friend" of General Montgomery, — "deep in the secrets of his head and heart," — before that hero abandoned the service of Great Britain, in 1772 (i. 92; ii. 375). After the commencement of the American war, he had lived some time in the West Indies, — at Porto Rico (i. 362; ii. 195). In 1777, he met Silas Deane, and "supped with him, on his return from Havre de Grace" (i. 320). In 1780, he appears to have been in this country (i. 99), but must have returned to Europe not many months afterwards, for he was in England in the autumn or early winter of the same year (ii. 186), and in Holland in August, 1781, and "saw the Dutch fleet sail, and return after the engagement" off the Dogger Bank (i. 193). He was in America again, very early in 1782, and appears to have remained at Philadelphia or in that neighborhood till the beginning of May (ii. 182, 37; i. 182). He called on General Washington, having "particular business to transact with him, respecting the estates of an old friend to whom he was executor"; and afterwards (in company with

Dr. Rumney) he visited Washington's home in Virginia, "passing a day or two with Mrs. Washington" and her family (i. 67, 115, 194). In October, he accompanied the French army on their march northward, "nearly the whole way from Alexandria to the North River,"—going on from Philadelphia to the camp at Verplanck's Point, in company with Mr. Craigie (apothecary-general for the northern department). He dined with Washington at headquarters, "spent a day or two at the camp," and then "continued his journey to Massachusetts" (i. 67, 126, 335; ii. 212). In November, he "was residing at *Salem*"; "was present at the [Association ball] at Boston," November 14th; having, by "his accidental absence" from Goodhue's Tavern in Salem, on the 13th, missed a visit of the Marquis de Chastellux to that place (ii. 254, 259). The next month, *December*, 1782, he sailed, for Europe, with four officers of Rochambeau's army for fellow-passengers, and, after a *seven weeks'* voyage, arrived at *Bordeaux* in France (ii. 77; i. 106),—where we lose sight of him in the notes.

The letter to which I have before referred, is dated from "*Bordeaux*, 21 January, 1783," and addressed to Silas Deane, then at Paris, by his "much obliged and obedient servant, George Greive,"—who "arrived a few days ago in the General Galvez, of Salem, and has now the pleasure of enclosing [to Mr. Deane] a letter which he received from [his] brother in Hartford, in October last." "As his stay at Hartford was only transient," he had "not the opportunity of availing himself of those tenders of civility which [Mr. Deane's] brother kindly made him, in consequence of Mr. Deane's *friendly letter of introduction*," &c. The writer's address was "at Messrs. French & Neveu," *Bordeaux*, where he proposed to stay "three weeks or a month."

And now, who was this George Greive? A letter published in Oswald's "*Independent Gazetteer*" (Philadelphia), June 27, 1787,—an extract from which was printed in the "*Historical Magazine*," vol. i. p. 90, gives a "history of this same translator and brother traveller of the Marquis de Chastelleux." "He was an attorney at Northumberland, of some little abilities, but of more impudence," who went to London, was employed by Almon to superintend the printing of the "*London Courant*," took an active part in the contested election for Westminster (in 1780), and "somewhat distinguished himself" by his zeal and success in procuring votes for Fox and Sir G. Rodney. Not long afterwards, having been detected in "the most detestable of all crimes," he "made his escape to Holland, and soon after from thence to America." Mr. Adams, "who was at Amsterdam when the fugitive

embarked for America," is censured (by implication), for not having "apprised his constituents, or friends," of this man's "infamous character," of which, "it is said, he was not ignorant."

The letter-writer, whoever he was — possibly Colonel Oswald himself, — was evidently disposed to present the character of the translator (whom he does not name), in the worst possible light. The sketch can have had no other original than George Greive, — who, however, may not have been *quite* so bad as he is painted. He was bad enough, certainly, — or he would not have written his notes to Chastellux. Brissot was right in advising readers of the translation, that "il faut se défier excessivement de tout ce qu'il dit pour et contre."

From an obituary notice in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxiii. p. 1216 (Supplement for 1793), I learn that George Greive was the younger son of Mr. Richard Greive, attorney-at-law in Alnwick, — "a branch of a family settled in trade at Berwick-upon-Tweed," — who, "zealous in the pursuits of his profession, and having talents, left, for a place so remote from the capital, a very considerable fortune to his children." His elder son, "David Richard Grieve [as the name is printed, l. c.] Esq., of Swarland Hall, near Felton, in Northumberland, for which county he was high-sheriff in 1788," died at his London residence in Soho Square, December 16, 1793, — without issue. His brother, "George Grieve, Esq., now in his forty-fifth year, was a young gentleman of great promise, to whom his father left £20,000, most of which he spent in search of popularity. He was bound apprentice to Peter Thellusson ['a native of Switzerland'], merchant in London. Being a man of warmth and vivacity, he was an active member of the Bill of Rights Club, to which he was, for a time, secretary. About this time he was a candidate for the shrievalty of the city of London, in which he was unsuccessful. For many years past he has lived in France, and has employed himself in literary pursuits, such as a translation of Baron Tott's Memoirs, published here in 1785, ['translated from the French by an English gentleman at Paris, under the immediate inspection of the Baron,'] and some other works; and where, we are told, he has long lamented his youthful levities, and now, at Bordeaux, sighs for the sweets of his native land, and of a virtuous liberty."

I have not taken the trouble to trace his history further. His identification with the translator of Chastellux's "Voyages" appears to me to be complete, though it is established by circumstantial evidence only. I trust that you will excuse the length of this letter, if it disposes finally of a question which has puzzled many readers, and of

which the error of Watt in the "Bibliotheca Britannica" has led others to a mistaken answer.

I remain, dear sir, very respectfully and truly yours,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

P.S.—In the management of the "London Courant," in 1779 and 1780, Greive was associated with Hugh Boyd, *one* of the putative authors of "Junius." In July, 1781, "the late printer of the 'London Courant,'" as the first publisher of "a libel against the Russian Ambassador" [M. de Simolin], was sentenced to pay a fine of £100, to be imprisoned for a year, and at the expiration of his confinement be *set on the pillory* for one hour." The attorney-general "expatiated on the enormity of the libel"; and the printers of *five other* London journals, which had copied it from the "Courant," were punished by fine and imprisonment. See "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. li. p. 340, and "Annual Register," xxiv. 184. Greive was in Holland in *August*, 1781; and Oswald's letter-writer says that he "made his escape *from the pillory* at London, for the most detestable of all crimes." Whether or not, the crime alluded to was the libel against De Simolin, I cannot say.

Mr. DAVIS offered for publication a manuscript diary of what was described on the title-page as a journey from Plymouth to Connecticut, by Samuel Davis, in 1789. The journey was in fact from Plymouth to Fairfield, in Connecticut, and thence by water to New York. It was performed to Fairfield on horseback, with a companion, Mr. Barnabas Hedge, Jr., accompanying in a chaise. The writer was an accurate and tasteful observer, and his accounts, both of things and people, have a singular freshness and interest. The diary has also some original drawings of objects which attracted his special attention.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CONNECTICUT.—AUTUMN OF 1789.*

August 27.—Leave Plymouth at noon, in company with Mr. B. Hedge, Jr., on a tour to Fairfield, in the State of Connecticut. As I travelled on horseback, it gave me an opportunity to make many

* Samuel Davis, writer of this journal, was born in Plymouth, March 5, 1765, and died unmarried, July 10, 1829. He was a member of this Society from 1812 until his death. His epitaph, written by his brother, the Hon. John Davis, for many years a Presi-

remarks, which are here transcribed from my original memoranda, made *en passant*. Lodged at Cushing's, Hingham Plain, this night. On our way hither, we passed a party going to Plymouth: Mr. Russell, Mr. Brimmer, Mr. Pepping, ladies, and others.

August 28.—Breakfasted at Vose's, Milton Hill, and passed this day at Boston. Lodged at the Golden Ball (Mrs. Loring's).

August 29.—Leave Boston, and are detained this day at Cambridge by rain. Visit the public rooms of the University; Mr. Foxcroft's; take tea with him; lodge at Bradish's.

Sunday, August 30.—Visit Mr. Brattle's gardens, and proceed on our journey through Watertown and Waltham to Weston. Breakfast at Flaggs's, the stage inn, and a very good one, thirteen miles from Cambridge. Dine at Williams's (Marlborough), fourteen and one-half miles from Weston. Arrived at Worcester, having passed East and West Sudbury, Northborough, and Shrewsbury; the last stage eighteen miles. In the latter place we were stopped by a warden (General Ward), for travelling on the Sabbath. Mr. H. made such apologies as gave us a passport. Near Worcester the road passes a large and pleasant (Long) pond; and in Sudbury are extensive marshes, and a causeway, which in some seasons is overflowed, by what I suppose to be a branch of Concord River, which in its turn is a tributary to the Merrimac.

WORCESTER.

From a hill, as we approach, Worcester appears pleasantly situated in a vale. Put up at Patch's, the stage inn, and find Mr. James a boarder here,—my former schoolmaster; pass the evening with him at Mr. William Sever's. At Northborough, the county of Worcester commences. I saw nothing in that place worthy of further remark. At Shrewsbury, near the meeting-house, the ground is high, the prospect extensive and interesting. On the right lies Princeton and Wachuset hills, twelve miles distant, from whence, we are told, the spires of Boston and the Atlantic may be seen, distant fifty miles.

dent of this Society, describes him and his character with more accuracy than perhaps is usually found in epitaphs. It is as follows:—

"From life on earth our pensive friend retires,
His dust commingling with his pilgrim sires.
In thoughtful walk their every path he traced,
Their toils, their tombs, their faithful page embraced:
Peaceful and pure and innocent as they,
Like them to rise to everlasting day."—G.T.D.

Worcester is a neat and flourishing town. The houses are generally painted. There is a mode of finishing prevails here, somewhat peculiar. The jut passes round the corners of their houses two or three feet; and the window-caps are ornamented with modillions. Mr. Sever observed that a spirit of building prevailed, and that the greater part of the principal street had been built since his residence here, a period of seven or eight years. Their printing-office is celebrated; their court-house is a neat edifice; and their farms are well cultivated.

August 31. — Breakfast at Spencer (Jenk's), twelve miles from Worcester. Have had the agreeable companions of one-mile stones this stage, which are continued to Springfield. Our route this morning has been through Leicester and a continued range of long and rugged hills, of extensive prospect indeed. Leicester is situate on very high ground. The meeting-house is a decent edifice, very illy painted. Near it, is the academy, founded by the late Mr. Lopez, a worthy merchant, of the Jewish tribe. It is a long building, of two stories, with a cupola and bell, and two entrances, fronted by porticos: appears to be decaying. Mr. James observed, at Worcester, that he supposed the preceptor and pupils would be removed to a handsome new school-house in that town. Mr. H.'s chaise broke this stage, and while assisting him my horse walked back a mile or more. Spencer meeting-house is painted; without a spire; small windows, all capped with pediments.

BRIMFIELD (IN THE COUNTY OF HAMPSHIRE).

Powars's, eighteen miles from Spencer. This inn is situate at the foot of the Western Mountains. On this stage we have passed through Brookfield and Western. The former is a large and pleasant town, of several parishes, once the seat of Indian wars. The road is hilly and rocky, until we reach the upper meeting-house, where it suddenly alters to a level, without any stones. In Western, near two bridges, the road directly forward leads to Northampton, thirty miles distant, while the stage road to this place turns short to the left, a few rods from the bridge. After passing a burial-ground, it ascends the Western Mountains, a ridge that intersects the State, and terminates in Connecticut. This pass is about five and one-half miles over; and we were an hour and a half in crossing it. In some places it is a solid mass of rock. One can scarcely believe this has been the main road to Springfield from time immemorial. The upper country, however, cannot be attained in any better direction. Powars's, in Brimfield, is not a stage inn. It was late, and we had no choice. Our repast was

various: cold meat, corn, baked apples, wild honey, eggs, cheese, &c. The room in which we dined recalled Dr. Goldsmith's description. There was "the bed by night, the chest of drawers by day"; and among its decorations were an "Elegy on a late Hurricane," and "Handsome Harry, or the Deceitful Young Man." The good dame of the house talked much and loud. The quaint manner in which she called "E-li! E-li! E-li!" her son, amused us not a little. Some new cheeses appeared to be inlaid with sprigs and flowers. I asked the landlady how it was done. She said, "The little witch of a girl brought the leaves from the garden, and when the cheese was soft pressed them in." The effect was pleasing, and to me new: the good woman, it seems, thought otherwise.

WILBRAHAM.

Bliss's, ten miles from Powars's. *Monday evening.* This house has a pleasant aspect. It is situated on the side of a mountain, out of the main road, on a cross one, that leads to Somers in Connecticut. We are directed to it as a place of good accommodation, though not the stage inn. Soon after leaving Brimfield, we passed a small bridge, over the Chickapee. This river is here of some width. We had passed it twice in Brookfield, where it is an inconsiderable stream. Here it divides the towns of Brookfield and Palmer, both in Hampshire County. The road now runs parallel with the river along the valley, presenting the most romantic scenery. Cottages and cultivation intermingled with rude mountain scenery. Whoever has read Goldsmith's "Traveller," will here be reminded of his description of Switzerland: and the attachment of the peasantry to their native soil may be as proverbial; for—

"Even those hills that round their mansions rise,
Enhance the bliss their scanty fund supplies;
And the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar,
But bind them to their native mountains more."

The road continues along the valley, surrounded on either hand by mountains, that now take the name of Wilbraham; and we pass the Chickapee again on a bridge in Palmer. This river, which rises, I suppose, in Worcester County, runs a south-westerly course along these valleys, and loses its name in the Connecticut, above Springfield. We passed the evening very socially at Wilbraham. Mr. Bliss gave us much information relating to this part of the country. The room in which we were entertained was adorned with prints engraved by Doolittle, of New Haven. "The Battle of Lexington," "Concord Bridge," and other leading events of the American war, were the

subject of these pictures. Thomson's "Seasons" was on the table: it belonged to the young woman who waited on us at tea. She wore a crape cushion: the first I have noticed in all the way from Boston. The chimney-piece and tables were fancifully decorated with flowers and shrubbery: and I observed many traits of improved taste, very pleasant to meet amidst the wild scenes of Wilbraham Mountains.

SPRINGFIELD.

September 1.—Parsons's, ten miles from Wilbraham. Very cool morning; a frost last night: the buckwheat supposed to be injured by it. Breakfast at this place. The road hither is not unlike that from Plymouth to Plimpton, a continued pine plain, without fence. Pass the Magazine, a long brick building, remarkable for the defence made before it in 1787, by General Shepard. Further on, are two large public stores for arms, and a number of barracks, &c. The meanest houses we have passed this stage are neatly underpinned with Connecticut stone. The Magazine appeared thus as I passed it.

[In the original is a neatly executed drawing.]

Springfield is a pleasant town of some extent, on the east bank of the river Connecticut. It has a handsome meeting-house, painted, and furnished with a clock and electrical rod; a small court-house; several well-furnished shops: the hair-dresser's is one of them. I called on the Rev. Mr. Howard, who was very civil, and requested me to visit him on my return. Our stay was short here; and the morning fog from the river prevented a general view of the place. It is level, and a continued street along the river of great length. The river is eighty rods wide here, and ten feet deep in the midst. There are marks of great freshets on the trees, when it rises twenty feet.

WINDSOR (CONNECTICUT).

Picket's Inn, eighteen miles from Springfield. The ferry which we crossed at Springfield is very commodious. Several ladies came over with us, and their carriage entered and left the boat without untackling. The road now led along through West Springfield, by the banks of the river. Crossed a bridge in this town over the Agawam, and ascend a hill, from which there is an extensive view of the mountains in East Hampton and Hadley, fifteen and thirty miles distant; and further, a mountain in Deerfield, as I am told, fifty miles distant from this hill. About six miles from the ferry we enter the State of Connecticut in Suffield, and soon perceive a difference in many respects. The roads

are six rods in width, bordered by a slab fence. The houses have, generally, porticos; generally painted. Suffield has a church and a meeting-house, decorated with the handsomest steeple between this place and Boston. Begin to see quarries of red stone: the waters of the brooks have the tinge of red. Indexes are at convenient distances on this stage. Between Suffield and Windsor there is a long tract of pine woods, through which the road leads; a growth of wood not very common in this region, I believe. Dine at Windsor. While at dinner a chariot passes from the westward. There is not so much travelling as I expected here. Between Worcester and Springfield, a distance of fifty-two miles, met only one wagon.

WETHERSFIELD.

Tuesday evening.—Wright's, fourteen miles from Windsor, and four from Hartford, which we passed through without alighting. Windsor is the oldest town in the State. It was here that Captain William Holmes landed from Plymouth, 1633; and there is a place yet called Plymouth Point. Hartford is built chiefly on one street, a mile or more in length. Many of the houses are brick. The tide flows here, near forty miles from the sea. It has a state-house, and two meeting-houses, and many busy mill-seats. The streets, which are of red earth, are raised in the turnpike manner. When it rains, a red mud covers the shoes and boots of the passengers. We have not yet seen any stone-wall in this State. Virginia fence, so termed, is very common. The road is rather good than otherwise, all the distance from Springfield to this place, inclining to sand here. Their orchards make a fine appearance. Wheat is much cultivated; and, though they raise excellent corn, their household bread is universally of wheat. The style of building varies somewhat from that of the Bay State, as they term Massachusetts. Beside the front door, their houses have a door on the end near the front corner, which looks awkward. Porticos are universal. The windows have steel springs. Large halls are generally attached to the principal inns. At Wethersfield, onions are much cultivated, of which we were apprised at some distance. It has a noble brick meeting-house, — which, with its elegant spire, is built on the model of the North Church in Boston, — a fine clock, and a deep-toned bell, and many handsome houses on a spacious and busy street. We saw that of the late Mr. Beadle, which is shut, with its shop, none being willing to occupy it.* We met the stage from Fairfield near Hartford, and many carriages of ladies and gentlemen returning to town. The gypsy hat and the jaunty air bespeak the neighborhood

* See p. 163. — EDS.

of city fashions and manners. At Wethersfield the floors are sanded, which I have not noticed since leaving Cambridge. Visit a goldsmith's shop here, who is also a druggist and clockmaker. A repeating clock has a curious device on the face, which represents Adam and Eve in a circle. A serpent forms a part of the circumference, and, by internal movements, moves around, incessantly tempting. In coming to this place, ascend a high hill in Windsor, which opened a view of a chain of mountains called Windsor Goshen, running east and west, on the east side of the river, being, I suppose, in East Windsor and Goshen. And, before entering the line of Hartford, passed the Hanging Bridge; so called, from its construction.

WALLINGFORD.

Wednesday noon, September 2. — Keyes's inn, nineteen miles from Wethersfield. Retarded by showers this morning. Have passed through Berlin, and the pleasant and fertile village of Worthington here called a Society. The road led along under mountains. Villagers were making cider: we took some at the press, from their beechen bowl. The road has been very rough, but the views of cultivation pleasant. At this inn we are shown glass mugs and bottles, which are made at East Hartford: price of the former 1s. 3d.; the latter 6d. The color is quite green.

NEW HAVEN.

Smith's coffee-house, seventeen miles from Wallingford. After leaving Keyes's, we travelled on a level, sandy plain, — a barren heath of some length, — on which is situated a Separatists' meeting-house, in poor plight. See much Virginia fence this stage. Pass through North Haven, the lightest soil we have yet seen in this State. See many locust-trees, which do not appear injured by the worm. Farmers sowing wheat all along this distance. Arrived at New Haven in the evening, which is situate on the Sound, on a plain, surrounded by rude mountains. This inn is opposite the Green, on which are a state-house, of brick, three meeting-houses, the college, and chapel, all very near. Their several spires give it a city aspect. It has also much of a rural appearance, by reason of many trees. The streets are rather sandy. The harbor of New Haven is shoal; the principal wharf is nearly as long as Boston Pier, yet much narrower. There is also an island wharf for large vessels. The seat of Mr. Edwards appears to much advantage, as we enter the town from the eastward.

Thursday, September 3. — Visit the City Assembly Room, where are exhibited natural curiosities from Africa and Brazil; are shown the ourang-outang, or man of the woods, three feet five inches in height; the buffalo, of the size of a bull; the baboon; the sloth; and various monkeys; the crocodile; and many serpents of tropical climes; the tiger cat, of Brazil, alive in a cage; a great variety of beautiful birds, among them the gold crown, of Brazil, of unrivalled plumage. We find some difficulty in making change in this place. Coppers pass at six the penny. Even those graced with the legend "Auctori Conn." are included. Feel chagrined that old Massachusetts, with his bow and arrow, should be undervalued. New York regulates their trade. The crown passes there, and here now, at 6s. 9d. All along as we travel, the usual question at the taverns is, "From Boston: going to York, I suppose?" The appellation New York is not used here.

Thursday noon, September 3. — Leave this place in the forenoon; and, at two miles' distance, from an eminence, have a pleasing view of it, seated apparently under the mountains. Long Island also appears in view. Fall in company with Mr. Beers, postmaster of New Haven, and ride with him to Milford. Passed through a part of West Haven.

MILFORD.

This place is seated on the Sound, and is divided from Stratford by the Housatonic, a river which rises in Berkshire County (Massachusetts). Here is a meeting-house of three stories, a smaller one, and a church, all on one continued street. We cross the Housatonic, a mile from its mouth, to Stratford. The river is here eighty-two rods wide, and the channel is four fathoms deep. It is navigable to Derby, ten miles above, for vessels of burden. There is considerable tide here; and this ferry is at times a dangerous passage, from its contiguity to the sea.

STRATFORD

Is two miles from the ferry; a very handsome town, also on the Sound. Benjamin's inn, at which we dined, is fifteen miles from New Haven, and eight from Fairfield. In the afternoon, proceed to Newfield (since Bridgeport). Stop at Mr. Young's, a merchant, in that very pleasant and flourishing village, and are kindly entertained. Arrive at Fairfield in the evening, the term of our journey; distant from Boston, by the route we travelled, one hundred and ninety-four miles, and from Plymouth, *via* Boston, two hundred and thirty-six. Lodge at the Sun Tavern, — the stage inn, kept by Mr. Penfield. Met Mr. Gershom Burr between Newfield and Fairfield.

FAIRFIELD.

Friday, September 4. — Introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Burr, Rev. Mr. Eliot, Hon. Mr. Sturges, and others; and here meet Mr. Capers, his younger brother Gabriel, and Mr. Townsend, of Beaufort, S.C.; Mrs. Burr and her daughters, our former acquaintance. This afternoon there is an annual party to the "Pines," on the sea-shore, opposite Long Island. The term Pines is used by way of distinction, these being almost the only trees of that growth in this place. It was a "Feast of Shells." The clams are brought from Long Island, and roasted in the sand. Age and youth of either sex were of the party, which was very numerous, festive, novel, and agreeable, and closed with a ball in the evening. The Boston stage arrives this evening, and we see the "Centinel" of Wednesday.

Saturday, September 5. — Ride to Mill River, the western extreme of Fairfield, two miles. At this inlet there are bolting mills, several wharves, on which I notice large piles of Egg Harbor shingle. Many of the houses in Fairfield are covered with these. The courses, being laid twelve inches distant, have an unpleasing appearance, resembling boards. Oak floors and staircases are also common. Cedar, I believe, is not indigenous here, as the rails around the enclosures are of chestnut. The soil is excellent. There are few hills — none of magnitude, nearer than Greenfield — from which a general view can be seen. On our return take tea with Mr. Sturges, who is a member of Congress and pass the evening at Mr. Burr's.

Sunday, September 6. — Attend meeting in the morning at Rev. Mr. Eliot's, who preached from Heb. iv. 16: "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace." In the intermission visited the burial-ground, where are some monuments of Connecticut marble. Dine at Penfield's; and in the afternoon attend the church service in the court-house. The Rev. Mr. Sayre, late of Newport, read the service with solemnity and grace, and preached from 1 Cor. i. 18: "For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness." His society is small and scattered. There are several in this section of the State. Mr. Eliot's meeting-house is yet unfinished; and the court-house scarcely merits the name, being a temporary building. Fairfield, it is well known, was once a beautiful place. The public buildings, as well as many elegant private dwellings, were burnt during the Revolution; and men of ample estate yet reside in very humble abodes. Take tea at Mr. Burr's, whose residence is one of these. His garden shows the cellar of his former mansion, over which some

venerable elms spread their foliage. Introduced to 'Squire Rowland in the evening, who has visited Plymouth in former days. A satirical poem has just been published at New York, by a Mr. Church (a candidate for office) — called the "Dangerous Vice"; in allusion, it is supposed, to eminent public characters. It discovers malignancy, but has many vigorous lines. Mr. Rowland has read it, and quotes with emphasis these:—

"Gods! how they'd stare! should fickle Fortune drop
These mushroom lordlings, where she picked them up!"

Mr. C., the author, is understood in this passage to allude to General Knox, who perhaps did not patronize him. The General cannot be injured by such darts as these; they fall harmless. The title, it is thought, alludes to the Vice-President. Visit the singing-school this evening.

Monday, September 7.—Make an excursion, with Mrs. Burr, to Greenfield Hill, the residence of the Rev. Dr. Dwight, four miles distant. Dr. D.'s residence commands a beautiful and extensive view of Long Island. His mansion is neat, and his gardens well cultivated. He is very social. His presence is commanding. A habit of winking denotes a weakness of the eyes. His rooms are ornamented with paintings from the pencil of Mr. Dunlap, his brother-in-law. Some of the subjects are from his "Conquest of Canaan." One represents "Irad and Selima," from the Third Book, line 135, &c.:—

"O'er northern plains serene the lovers stray,
And various converse charms their easy way."

The figure of Irad is well delineated. Selima not so well. There are portraits also of Dr. Dwight and Mrs. Dwight, who treated us very civilly. Dine at Mr. Bradley's, at Greenfield, with our friends. This gentleman is a farmer of opulence, and gives us the cordial welcome of abundance. Also visit his son, Mr. S. Bradley. Here are family portraits, lately done by Earle, who has painted many in this part of the country. Greenfield is pleasantly situated; has a meeting-house and an academy, of which Dr. Dwight is the preceptor; and the place is the subject of one of his poems. I suppose it to be a parish of Fairfield. Pass the afternoon at the Rev. Mr. Eliot's, who lives two miles from town. Hence we see the sand cliffs of Long Island, eighteen miles distant. Columns of smoke arise along its view this day, and awakens the idea of the Indian fires of former times, when Montog and Manhattan and Mohegan visited one another. Here we met Rev. Mr. Willis, of Kingston, who had come hither to attend the Commencement at New Haven, this week, on the 9th.

Tuesday, September 8. — Stages depart at four o'clock this morning for the eastward; and at nine a coach and phaeton arrive, being the family of the Hon. Mr. Dalton, a senator of the United States from Massachusetts, who breakfast at this place. The newspapers of this week announce the arrival of the French fleet at Boston, the 3d inst. At the distance of near two hundred miles, we receive the "Centinel" the third day of publication. Mr. Burr is the postmaster, and is the centre of intelligence. Many of the clergy pass by this day, going to Commencement. Dine with Mrs. Burr this day, with her children; and Mr. C. learns me the game of backgammon in the afternoon.

Wednesday, September 9. — Our friends dine with us at Penfield's, being Commencement. In the afternoon, Mr. Wm. H. Capers to Miss A. Burr, and Mr. B. H. to Miss E. D. Burr, were married at Mr. Burr's, by the Rev. Andrew Eliot. The guests were numerous. I waited on Miss A. Sturges. Mr. Burr and Mrs. Forgue, relict of a Dr. Forgue, step a minuet, &c., &c.

Thursday, September 10. — Visits are made. Become acquainted with Mr. Judson and Dr. Hull, Captain Smedley, &c., &c. Dine at Mr. Burr's; and all the party go to Newfield in the afternoon, four miles hence. Go in the stage. It was quite a cavalcade and procession. Take tea at Mr. Young's; and, in the evening, Mr. G. Burr was married to Miss Susan Young of that place, by Mr. Eliot. A Mrs. Clark, an English lady, sung, accompanied by her husband, on the violin. Danced with Miss Hubbell. Mr. Young has an elegant house at Newfield, which was begun and completed in sixty-two days. It is finished in a style of much taste, stands near the shore, and commands a very picturesque view across the harbor. There is a bridge of some length between this place and town. It is a city in miniature. Streets, docks, and trades denote its future character of commercial importance.

Friday, September 11. — Much visiting and festivity, and not much journalizing. Mr. Burr, an intelligent man, lodges at Penfield's. He is engaged in the linen manufacture at New Haven, of which he gives me some account. Western and eastern stages arrive. Only one passenger in each: somewhat singular, on this great road.

Saturday, September 12. — Visit Newfield with a numerous party, and take a sketch of the place from Mr. Young's house. Have fine melons, &c., &c., here. On our return find Judge Hobart and lady have arrived from New York, with whom we dine at Mr. Burr's. Judge H. is singularly tall in person, being six feet four inches; grave in air, plain in dress. Mrs. H. is small and delicate, — her

voice is extremely weak, — and is probably an habitual invalid; quite the lady in her manners. The Judge gave us an account of the porpoise fishery at Sagg Harbor, Long Island, which I will attempt to state. They are caught in seines of half a mile in width, supported by boats, connected with ropes. These seines are made of ten-thread ratline, and cost, as he stated, £4,000 currency. They are hauled to the shore by a windlass, when forty or more porpoises are drawn in averaging from five to six and seven gallons of oil each. Their skins are said to be worth 6s. each.

Sunday, September 13. — Two English gentlemen are at Penfield's this morning, from Dominica, *via* Boston and Newport. Attend public worship at Mr. Eliot's meeting, who preaches from John iii. 36: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life." In the afternoon, from Rom. v. 10: "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." At the close of the service an anthem was sung from Psalm xxvi.; intended, without doubt, as a mark of respect to the events of the past week. Take tea at Mr. Burr's.

Monday, September 14. — In the morning go to Mill River with Mr. and Mrs. Capers, where we are to embark for New York, on a visit. Take passage with Captain Thorp, in the "Lady of Fairfield." Other passengers are Miss Sherwood and Mr. Pomeroy, of Greenfield, Mr. Sherwood, and Mr. Platt, a youth of the city. Embark at nine o'clock, wind N.N.E., and soon leave several vessels far behind. Speak a schooner from Casco Bay, with fish, going our course. Becalmed at noon.

LONG ISLAND SOUND.

Pass by Norwalk, Stamford, Horseneck, or Greenwich, and Rye, which is the first town in New York State, on the eastern side. The views sailing up the Sound are pleasing. The shore approaching, as we proceed, brings a succession of picturesque objects in view, of which I take pencil sketches. Becalmed at sunset, off Sands's Point, thirty-eight miles from Fairfield; and at nine o'clock come to, under Hart's Island.

September 15. — Heave up at three in the morning, with the tide in our favor, but calm. Double many points, and at nine o'clock pass Hell Gate, with New York Island on our right, and Blackfield's Island on the left. This is called the West Passage. It is said the bed of the river here is rock, which renders anchoring hazardous. As it was calm, we were obliged to row. It rained at this time, and the

whirlpools were to be seen which mark the places of danger. This passage is about half a mile, and ten from the city, which appears in view after doubling Kyler's Hook; also the village of Brooklyn, on Long Island opposite. The banks of York Island have here a wild and grotesque appearance. Seats and summer-houses appear among the rocks, almost hanging over us. We pass timber and mast yards at the east end of the city, which here resembles the north part of Boston around Winnisimmet and Copp's Hill. The prospect of the city presents but few spires. We landed at Burling's Slip, and quartered at Mrs. Vandervoort's, No. 28, Maiden Lane, where we dined. The company are Mr. Robert Greenleaf, a youth of Boston, Mr. and Mrs. Dickason of Bermuda, and Miss D. Vandervoort.

NEW YORK.

September 15. — A coat-of-arms hung in the parlor of Mrs. Vandervoort, bearing the name of Ledyard, which she told me was her former name; and that the traveller was her nephew. A beautiful, unfinished picture of one of her children hung in my chamber, which she said was painted by a Mr. Wright, a son of the celebrated Mrs. Wright. Mrs. Dickason was a lively woman; repeated poetry, and gave me some anecdotes of Miss Helen Maria Williams, the poetess. She said she was addressed by a Mr. Riddle, of Bermuda, whose death in early years had given occasion to some of her admired compositions. Visit the Fly Market and other parts of the city in the afternoon with Mr. Capers, and call at Mr. Rogers's, where we meet Dr. Dwight and a Mr. Lyde, who I believe was an absentee and a native of Boston, and who makes many inquiries respecting Colonel Watson and Mr. I. Lothrop, of Plymouth, with whom he was formerly acquainted. Saw a beautiful engraving of the "Nativity," at Mr. Rogers's. The streets are bordered by convenient brick walks. Meet Dr. Bard, a very polite man, physician to the President. Begs us to call at his house: is extremely civil. Visit the Federal Hall, where I meet Mr. Partridge, member of Congress from Massachusetts, who told me I was the first person he had ever seen from his district. Engage to breakfast with him to-morrow. Take tea at Judge Hobart's. All the tea-water used in this city is brought from the tea-water pump, some distance, in cars, and is sold at two coppers the pail. The wheels of these are broad and unshod, as well as the trucks, on account of the pavement. The city is lighted; and as I pass along, see whole families sitting in the Dutch stoops at the doors, a mode of building now obsolete. Our party this

evening at Mrs. Vandervoort's are Miss Ledyard, Mr. Tucker, and Mr. Walker, Mr. Dickason and lady.

September 16. — Breakfast with Mr. Partridge, at Mrs. Loring's, Broadway. Mr. Ames and Mr. J. Williams, of Boston, are here. Mr. Lear, the secretary, called on Mr. P., respecting appointment at Rehoboth, Mass. Opposite the parlor is a view of the North River, and the village of Bergen, on the Jersey shore. In front is the Bowery. The Bowery, or Bowling Green, is an oval plat, enclosed with a railing of iron. The pedestal on which formerly stood the statue of the king, is in the centre, on which now stands the ship carried in procession when the Constitution was adopted. Broadway is very wide; and its four-story buildings superb. At the end, on the harbor, is the fort, which is to be the site of the future government house. At the north end is St. Paul's Chapel, in front of which is Montgomery's monument. Near it are the college, poor-house, Bridewell, and the jail. The new Trinity Church is now building on this street, which will have a spire two hundred feet from the pavement: is twenty-five higher than any other in the city. In the graveyard are many wooden monuments, — erected during the war, when stone could not be procured, — painted white, with black letters.

September 17. — Visit Federal Hall, situate at the head of Broad Street, in the front of which the President lately took the inaugural oath, and where the Congress sits. The vestibule is lighted from above, the floor of which is flagstone. Visit the gallery. Prayers performing. The members sit in semicircles, covered; uncovered when speaking. Mr. Lear is announced, and delivers a message. The debates appear to be desultory this morning, and unimportant. Meet Mr. John Fenno in the gallery, who designates all the members as they sit. He is taking their debates for publication, and is glad to see me, though unknown, because I came from Massachusetts. Meet with Mr. Lyde again this morning. Says he has been absent from Boston fifteen years; is strongly attached to it, yet prefers New York for business. Says it is as two to one in this respect: that he leases a house for £185 currency; and every thing is in that proportion. Is very civil. Purchase some fruit in the market. Coppers pass at twenty-four the shilling. Only the Jersey coinage are current in the market, where are melons, peaches, and other fruits, superior, I think, to those of Boston. Visit the theatre this evening, in John Street, with the ladies of Maiden Lane. The exterior of the theatre is ordinary, but handsome within. Mr. Henry's "Old American Company" are the performers. "The Father, or American Shandyism," written

by Mr. Dunlap, the painter, was performed. The "Taming of the Shrew" was the afterpiece. Mr. Wignell, one of the actors, was much applauded. Mr. Henry spoke the epilogue. This being my *début* at dramatic representations, was not a little gratified.

September 18.—Repair to the gallery of Congress this morning. Prayers offered by Dr. Prevost. Only thirteen members present. The House were engaged by private petitions. The question of Permanent Residence was taken up: and it was proposed to fix the future seat of government on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania. On the amendment, "or in Maryland," an animated debate ensued. Messrs. Stone, Lee, Jackson, Page, Madison, Gale, for the amendment. Hartley, Clymer, Ames, Sherman, against it. On a division there was a tie, twenty-seven and twenty-seven. The Speaker, Muhlenburg (of Pennsylvania), was against the amendment. The salary of the judges was taken up this day. Mr. Goodhue moved that \$4,500 for the chief justice be struck out, and \$3,000 inserted: supported by Judge Livermore (New Hampshire), Mr. Ames, Mr. White, Gerry, and S—; opposed by Smith (South Carolina); Lawrence (New York); Benson, (New York); Vining (Delaware.) Finally passed at \$3,500; associates, \$3,000. District judges, under consideration. Judge Livermore moved that \$800 be struck out, and \$500 be inserted for Maine. Mr. Madison proposed to equalize them; overruled. A reduction made in every instance. In the course of these debates, Mr. Ames observed, on the subject of the chief-justice salary, that he thought \$1,500 would command the first legal abilities in New England. He therefore thought \$3,000 an ample compensation; that the integrity of the judge was not secured by the quantum of compensation, but by a habit of right action; that it was often the case, that men politically bad made very good judges, &c., &c. Some other business of less moment occurred this day. Mr. Goodhue called for the report of the committee on the value of the rouble of Russia. A petition of Mr. Rumsey, on improvements in hydrostatics, was read; and of the Rev. Mr. Stoy,* of Pennsylvania, on a nostrum for the cure of the hydrophobia. A general smile. Mr. Boudinot, of New Jersey, was in the chair. Visit the bookstore of Hugh Gainé, and buy "Nisi Prius" for my brother. Call on Mr. Dunlap, where we meet Dr. Dwight again. See some fine drawings in India ink, and paintings from Orlando Furioso; and a sketch of the "Inauguration of the President," on a scale of twelve by eight feet; the "Choice of Hercules"; the "Youth rescued from a Shark," &c., &c. Mr. Dunlap

* Probably Hoy. See Journal of the House under this date. — Eds.

has studied with the celebrated Mr. West, and is a man of genius in the arts of poetry and painting. Meet with Mr. Woolsey here. Take tea at Mrs. Loring's, with Mr. Partridge, Ames, and Colonel Leonard, who arrived this morning, to increase the vote on the question of permanent residence, I suppose. Judge Hobart arrived this day from Fairfield. We called on him, who treated us with Blue Point oysters from the shell, and excellent Madeira. As we return home, the stillness of this great and busy city is very impressive. In the course of this day I visited Mr. Decker's balloon, in which he advertises to ascend on Wednesday next. The car is completed. It has cost £100; and it makes a beautiful appearance.

Saturday, September 19.—Embark on board the "Lady of Fairfield" on our return. As we passed through the Fly Market before five o'clock, the marketmen and Dutch women were arranged at their stands. Leave Burling's Slip with the wind at N.N.W.; and as we are wafted along the East River, meet the market boats from Long Island, plying across in rapid succession, loaded with bounties. The wind hauls N.E. Lay our course along the Narrows. The "Pot and Pan" of Hell Gate foam and hiss as we pass; and two vessels get on shore. Pass the North Channel, and tack frequently in confined waters. The sun arises, and illumines the seats along the island; and we come to under Frog's Point, which makes out from East Chester, twenty miles from New York. Take the bonnet from the jib, reef the mainsail, and at nine o'clock heave up; pass Hart Island and Sands's Point, when we are in the Sound, with a tumbling sea. Far as the view extends, many vessels are tacking from shore to shore, while others pass us with pleasant gales.

LONG ISLAND SOUND.

We keep the Long Island shore, and find ourselves in Hempstead Bay, celebrated as the resort of the British fleets during the late war. Eaton's Neck forms an imposing aspect. A well was dug here, of great depth, by the British, to procure water, we are told. At sunset come to under Norwalk Islands, on the northern shore; and pass the night six leagues from Fairfield.

Sunday, September 20.—Heave up at four o'clock; wind at N.W. We get within two miles of Mill River, and are becalmed. A bar extends from Sasco to McKensie Point. While detained here take a view of Mill River Village. The passage in is very narrow. The tide is rapid; and we are carried into the ware, and on to the marsh. The passages back and forth is nine shillings. Arrive at the Sign of

the Sun, in Fairfield, at twelve o'clock. Dine at Mr. Burr's, and prepare to return to Plymouth. Meet with Mr. Pepping (and Mr. Waldron), who gives me an account of his visit to Plymouth. Appears to be much gratified with it; and is passing through this place on his way to South Carolina.

Monday, September 21. — Take leave of Fairfield. Dine at Newfield. At Stratford there is a duck manufactory. See many looms as I pass. Horse races are held here on a fine level road of great length. Meet the stage, and the top covered with handboxes. Farmers topping corn, expecting the equinox storm. Coppers seventy-two the shilling at the ferry.

NEW HAVEN.

Lodge at Smith's coffee-house. Marshes surround this place, and mosquitos abound. Take a sketch of the public buildings. Meet with Mr. Blodget here.

NORTH HAVEN.

September 22. — Ives's, seven miles from New Haven. Breakfast here. A stage inn: not very good. The road is pleasant to travel.

MIDDLETOWN.

Bigelow's; twenty miles from North Haven. Have passed through Wallingford and Durham to this place. In the former there are two meeting-houses and a church; many shops. Durham is mountainous; rough roads, and narrower than is usual in this State. Abundance of apples. Between these places inquired the way of a traveller. "La!" says he, "you must turn down by Captain Day's; and then, d'you see, when you come to Captain Atwater's, turn to the left." On my telling him I knew neither of those persons, he expressed great surprise. Meet but very few travellers in this populous region and pleasant month. Dine at Bigelow's. Middletown is a charming place; both busy and rural; west side of the Connecticut River. Here are twelve sail of vessels that trade to the West Indies, and some to Europe; and ten feet water at the wharves. The place is laid out in squares. A Mr. Mortimer has an elegant seat near the river, ornamented by a double row of button-wood trees, here called "the mall." Dine in this place, — the road beyond it is on the shore of the river for two miles, — and pass two gates. It was calm, and the inverted view of the opposite shores beautiful beyond description.

ROCKY HILL,

A pleasant village between Middletown and Wethersfield, situate on the river. All these places have navigation. The latter place has been described before.

HARTFORD.

Bull's coffee-house; fifteen miles from Middletown. This is a celebrated inn. It is noisy; but there is the best attendance. Stages daily arriving and departing. Opposite is the State House, a wooden edifice. The Assembly sits alternately, I suppose, here and at New Haven. I believe there is not much navigation above this. Much business centres here; and there are many well-furnished shops and stores, and various manufactures; and perhaps two printing-offices. Pass the night here. I shall detail an appendage to the table. The toast was brought on in a pewter dish, with a double bottom; between, the space was supplied with hot water, by an aperture. Travellers see many rare and new things.

EAST HARTFORD.

September 23. — Woodbridge's; ten miles from the city. Crossed the ferry this morning in a very convenient boat. The fare, two-pence. Meet loads of coal, which pass over the ferry. Fall in company with a woman on horseback. I thought she had a Plymouth countenance. She asked me where I was from: when she informed me her name was Holmes; that her father, Samuel Holmes, came from Plymouth, and now lived at New London; her grandfather was Elisha Holmes; that her present name was Williams; lived at Westfield; and was going to New London to see her friends. Stopped to see the glass works in this place, superintended by a foreigner, who gave me a crucible made here. Take specimens of kelp and sand used here. The works are now out of repair. This town appears thinly settled: soil light and sandy; much woods. Breakfast here.

LEBANON-CRANK.

Hill's; sixteen miles from East Hartford. Have passed through Bolton and part of Andover in coming hither. The chimneys in the latter place universally of stone. This is a mountainous district. Roads are rough, narrow, and obscure. Cultivated settlements, however, are frequent. Ride in company with a traveller from the Grand

Isle, on Lake Champlain. Governor Trumbull's ancestral seat is in this town; not on this road. Dine at Hill's, on roast pig.

SCOTLAND-SOCIETY (IN WINDHAM).

Ripley's; ten miles from Lebanon-crank. Five back I passed a bridge over the Shetucket, a river which rises in Brimfield, Mass.; which, after winding among these mountains, in Windham, joins the Thames, at Norwich, sixteen miles hence, and passes on to the Sound, at New London. The road through Windham runs east and west. The town is in a valley; has a court-house and prison, and a very large school-house, with a lofty spire. Scotland village is four miles from the court-house, also in a valley. Mr. Ripley, the innkeeper, is a descendant of one of that name from Hingham, and brother to the Rev. Mr. Ripley, of Green's Farms, near Fairfield; is related to the Bradfords about Plymouth. This stage has been over rugged mountains. Lodge at this place. The tavern is on a hill, which overlooks the village.

VOLUNTOWN.

September 24.—Dickson's. The frontier town of Connecticut; adjoins Rhode Island. Fourteen miles from Scotland-Society. Have passed through Westminster (society), Canterbury, and Plainfield, over a rude and unequal country. Stone walls again appear. A morning prospect from a hill in Westminster Society presented phenomena to me novel. The sun was rising, while the vapors of the night rested in the valleys, which appeared like a vast lake, interspersed with islands. The risen day soon dissipated these vapors, when were successively exhibited forests, spires, cottages, and cultivation. Pass a long bridge in Canterbury, over the Quinebaug, a river which rises in Uxbridge and Woodstock; divides Canterbury and Plainfield, and joins the Shetucket in Norwich, when both swell the waters of the Thames. Some boys were assembled on the bridge in contention: the subject of dispute was a musquash trap. Nations have disputed for the furs of Nootka, objects comparatively not more important; and boys are the germ of nations. Not any mile-stones since I left Lebanon. Breakfast at Dickson's. Coppers pass at forty-eight the shilling, to those going east, as they pass thus at Providence. This is the inn which has been celebrated by the Marquis Chastellux, in his "Travels." I could embellish too; for at the moment of my departure the girl overset and broke all the tea-equipage.

SCITUATE, R.I.

Manchester's; thirteen miles from Voluntown. Enter this State at Coventry, near a log bridge, three miles from Voluntown. Also pass through a part of Foster, a new township. The militia of Scituate were paraded on the border of a grove, into which they fired by platoons. The reverberation of the sound was like cannon, which I supposed it to be. All the matrons and children of the country were assembled in their best attire. This part of the State is thinly inhabited, and the buildings are ordinary. A Baptist meeting-house in Coventry, and another in this place, are without glass or doors. There is something savage and wild in the appearance of every thing in these back towns. The road from Hartford to Providence is in a direction nearly east and west. From Bolton, fifty miles hence, it is a continued tract of ridges of very high ground. These ridges pervade the country, while the rivers and streams, in various directions, find a passage to the Sound, or Narraganset Bay. Dine at Scituate. A dispute or argument occurred here between a Connecticut man and a Rhode Islander, on the moral and religious character of their respective States. The latter observed, that "there may be more religion in Connecticut, but there was more honest men in Rhode Island!"

PROVIDENCE.

Dexter's; twelve miles from Scituate. Arrived here this afternoon. The last stage the road bounds Johnson on the north, and Cranston on the south, except the last four miles, being in Johnson. Pawtuxet River rises in Scituate, Coventry, and Foster, and falls into Narraganset Bay below Providence. The elegant spire of the Baptist meeting [house], in Providence, is conspicuous many miles. The soil is light and sandy in the western suburbs of Providence. Lodge at this place.

September 25. — Visit the stone-ware manufactory. The apparatus for moulding it is simple. Two wooden wheels, placed horizontally, and a few wooden tools, in the manner of a pottery, are all. The ware was annealing in a kiln, in which Lisbon salt was occasionally thrown. Two ranges of holes are on the top; I suppose for this purpose. The clay is procured from New Jersey. Leave this place in the forenoon, by the lower ferry on Seaconk River, to Rehoboth, in Massachusetts. The river is here seventy rods wide. The channel is crooked, but very deep here, perhaps twenty-five feet. Pawtucket Falls are three or four miles above. The general name of the river is

the Narraganset. It rises in Worcester County, Massachusetts. Ships of great burden, 800 tons, and more, are built at Providence, thirty miles from the ocean. Ride five miles in Rehoboth. Pass a part of Barrington, R.I., and cross the ferry to Warren, on Palmer's or Swansey River, which is here forty rods wide, and thirteen feet depth at low water in the channel. Its sources are in Rehoboth and Swansey.

BRISTOL.

Mount Hope, Governor Bradford's seat. Came to this place at noon, fourteen miles from Providence. Governor Bradford returned from Newport in the afternoon. Visit in town, and see many visitors here, where I remain till —

Sunday, September 27. — Appearances of a storm. Leave Bristol on my way to Plymouth.

REHOBOTH.

Goff's; thirteen miles from Mount Hope. Six miles from Bristol on this road is the boundary of the State, near some large rocks, lying along the way, where it enters Swansey. There are many cross-roads in all directions, without indexes.

RAYNHAM, MASS.

This place is twenty-seven miles from Bristol, and twelve of them are in Rehoboth. Pass through Taunton, and come to Colonel Leonard's, in Raynham, where my brother Wendell is at school. Dine here, and attend the Rev. Mr. Fobes's meeting, who preached from John xv. 22. The ancient custom of reading the psalm by the deacon prevails here: the singing is excellent. Colonel Leonard's house is pleasantly situated near the banks of Taunton River, on a fine road, in a rural neighborhood, two miles from Taunton Green.

MIDDLEBOROUGH.

Monday, September 28. — Sprout's; twelve miles from Raynham. Came hither by Titiquet bridge, which divides Bridgewater from Middleborough. The first six miles are in Raynham, two in Bridgewater, the rest in this place. Pass another bridge on Namaskett or Middleborough River, whose source is in the Assawumpsit ponds, once the favorite residence of Massasoit. Have passed three iron works on this route. The scenery and the faces I now meet are familiar; still more so, as I pass through Plimpton, and meet the teamsters return-

ing from Plymouth, where I alighted at noon. Thus an excursion of thirty-two days has afforded as many pages —

"Of all I felt, and all I saw."

It has been performed in the morning of life, when hope gilds our prospects with hues of gayety, when every object has the aspect of novelty.

These descriptive lines, written at a subsequent period, are subjoined as a suitable accompaniment to this journal. — S. D.

TAUNTON RIVER.*

Nature's views more beauteous seem
Than Art can show — be these my theme;
Taunton, first an humble rill,
Blithely whirls the rural mill;
Now, along the valleys slow,
Bids the dusky furnace blow;
Busy sounds incessant call;
'Tis the tripping hammer's fall;
Roaring echoes loud awakes,
Where Fall River's torrent breaks;
Annual tributes grateful bears;
Feeds a thousand nets and wares;
Picturesque, thy beauteous views,
Somerset, delight the muse;
Rural scenes, in verdure drest,
Gay, upon thy margin rest;
Berkley, Dighton, Swansey, claim
Deeper tides and wider fame;
Where thy vessel-freighted waves
Tiverton and Bristol laves;
While thy broader bosom, spread
Far reflects the mountain's head;
When thy waters, borne away,
Circle Narraganset Bay:
Swell the homage, due to thee,
NEWPORT, daughter of the SEA.

* Taunton River has several heads. The principal is at a pond in the south of Bridgewater; another is at the great ponds in the south of Middleborough, and is called Namaskett, till it joins the Taunton in Titiquet, and runs north. Two other heads are in Foxborough and Sharon or Stoughton, and run south-east to Taunton and Bridgewater. Another head is at a pond in Carver, eight miles from Plymouth; and in Carver turns a mill. It runs westerly, through Plimpton and Halifax, to the main river at Bridgewater. — NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.

My travelling expenses on this journey, going.

	£	s.	d.
Hingham, Cushing's. Supper and lodging	2	10	
Milton, Vose's. Breakfast	1	2	
Boston, Mrs. Loring's. Dinner, supper, lodging, and breakfast	7	11	
Cambridge, Bradish's. Dinner, lodging, supper.	4	6	
Weston, Flagg's. Breakfast	1	4	
Marlborough, Williams's. Dinner	1	0	
Worcester, Patch's. Supper and lodging	3	0	
Spencer, Jenk's. Breakfast	1	1	
Brimfield, Powars's. Dinner	1	2	
Wilbraham, Bliss's. Supper and lodging	2	7	
Springfield, Parsons's. Breakfast	1	4	
Windsor, Picket's. Dinner	1	6	
Ferry and hairdressing		6	
Wethersfield, Wright's. Supper, lodging, breakfast	4	4	
Wallingford, Kye's. Dinner	1	0	
New Haven, Smith's. Supper, lodging, and breakfast	4	8	
Hairdressing		9	
Curiosities	1	2	
Stratford, Benjamin's. Dinner	1	6	
Ferry		6	
Board at New York, four days	1	4	0
Two passages, @ 4s. 9d.		9	0
Mr. Penfield's bill, board, &c., at Fairfield, about nine days, and incidental expenses, — I forget it, but say, I think it was less.	8	0	0
	6	16	6

Travelling expenses, returning.

	s.	d.
Stratford Ferry		6
New Haven. Supper and lodging	3	9
North Haven, Ives's. Breakfast		9
Middletown, Bigelow's. Dinner	1	6
Hairdressing		7
Hartford, Bull's. Supper and lodging	4	6
East Hartford, Woodbridge's. Breakfast	1	1
Ferry at Hartford		2
Lebanon-crank, Hill's. Dinner	1	1
Scotland, Ripley's. Supper and lodging	1	10
Voluntown, Dickson's. Breakfast	1	1
Scituate, R.I., Manchester's. Dinner	1	6
Providence, Dexter's. Supper, lodging, and breakfast	5	5
Hairdresser		7
Ferry, 5d.; Kelly's Ferry, 4d.		9
Amount carried forward	£1	6s. 1d.

	£	s.	d.
Amount brought forward	1	5	1
Rehoboth, Goff's. Hay			6
Middleborough. Shoeing horse	1	6	
Hay, &c.		1	0
	£1	8	1
Brought from the other side	6	16	5
	8	4	6
Other incidental charges, say	1	4	0
	£9	8	6

The President, in announcing that the business of the Annual Meeting would now be taken up, stated that the Society was favored with the presence, at this meeting, of our Corresponding Member, Professor Goldwin Smith.

The Annual Reports of the Standing Committee, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the Cabinet-keeper, were severally presented and accepted, and referred to the Committee on the Publication of the "Proceedings."

Report of the Standing Committee, for the year 1868-69.

During the last year, the Society has lost two members, the Hon. Levi Lincoln, LL.D., and Dr. John Appleton. The memoir of the former, by the Hon. Emory Washburn, has been presented for publication. The death of Dr. Appleton was peculiarly touching, as it occurred almost immediately after his election to the Society. One Honorary Member, the Rev. H. H. Milman, D.D., and one Corresponding Member, the Hon. W. R. Staples, have died in the course of the year. We have also learned the death of seven persons on the old list of Honorary and Corresponding Members. Two Resident Members have been elected, and there are now two vacancies in the list. Two Honorary and five Corresponding Members have been added to our Association. The present number is ninety-eight Resident and ninety-six Non-resident Members.

Among the additions to the Society's possessions, the most noticeable are the bust of Mr. George Peabody, by Powers,

presented by Mr. Winthrop; and the Sewall Papers, purchased by a special subscription from members of the Society.

A new volume has been added to the "Collections." It contains the Mather Papers, the publication of which had long been desired. A new volume of "Proceedings" will appear within a few weeks.

Perhaps the most important effort of the Society during the year, considering all its bearings, was the Course of Lectures at the Lowell Institute, delivered by the following Members: the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop; the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D.; Samuel F. Haven, Esq.; Hon. William Brigham; Hon. Emory Washburn; Hon. Charles W. Upham; O. W. Holmes, M.D.; Samuel Eliot; Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D.; Hon. Joel Parker; Rev. E. E. Hale; and George B. Emerson, Esq. The interest taken in these lectures encourages us to hope that they have strengthened the hold of the Society upon the community. They are to be published in a volume, which will probably appear early in May, and which, if generally circulated, may carry to other parts of the country the same favorable impressions that have been produced here. The associate to whom we owe the idea of these lectures has already proposed a second course, and we hope that his new plan may meet the same success as the old. The history of Massachusetts, to say nothing of other States, is rich in material, the most varied and instructive with which lecturers can desire to deal. Names, characters, events, and the working out of great principles, religious and civil, are still waiting the eye that will pierce their depths, and the pen to describe what the eye has seen.

The office of Assistant Librarian was resigned by Dr. Appleton, at the end of November, after a long and faithful service, which every member will hold in respectful remembrance. A sub-committee, charged with finding a successor, was not able to report until a few weeks since, when Mr. F. H. Hedge, Jr., was nominated, and unanimously elected by the Standing Com-

mittee. He began his labors, which we trust may prove even longer and more acceptable than his predecessor's, on the 9th of April. One of the chief necessities of the Library is the want of shelf-lists, the preparation of which has been intrusted to a sub-committee; and the work they have before them will, when executed, prove the best safeguard that can be devised for the literary collections of the Society. Other subjects connected with the Library will doubtless be brought forward in the Report of the Librarian.

The Treasurer's Report will describe the financial condition of the Society. The Standing Committee have expended some money during the year upon a new furnace, and in repair of the flues, which were found in a very unsafe state. The roof, which had become quite leaky, has been thoroughly repaired.

Such are the matters upon which it seems proper that the Standing Committee should touch in their review of the year. In transferring their charge to their successors, the Committee take leave to point out two questions as worthy of early consideration. One relates to the more general circulation of the Society's publications, the other to the improvement of the Society's building, and thereby of the Society's material resources. Both these topics have been under frequent discussion, and it is hoped that they may soon be acted upon in such a manner as to promote the welfare of the Association.

SAMUEL ELIOT, *Chairman.*

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Society presents the following statement of its financial condition:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1869.

DEBITS.	
John Appleton, salary	\$666.64
George Arnold	691.63
Insurance	198.75
Incidental expenses	362.29
Amount carried forward	\$1,914.31

Amount brought forward	\$1,914.31
City of Boston, tax of 1868	615.00
Printing	79.00
Books	75.61
Coal	80.25
Repairs	401.95
Appleton Fund	732.18
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	254.31
Note of Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad	1,000.00
Accrued interest	15.00
Expended for purchase of MSS.	1,250.00
Disbursement on account of the Peabody subscription	101.00
Balance to new account	325.90
	<u>\$6,845.51</u>

CREDITS.

Balance from old account	\$70.63
Suffolk Savings Institution, rent	2,200.00
Suffolk Savings Institution, taxes	615.00
Coupons, Quincy & Palmyra Railroad	80.00
Assessments	701.00
Admissions	30.00
Sales of Society's Publications	421.25
Sundries	8.23
Copyright of sales of Life of J. Q. Adams	8.40
Hon. John A. Lowell, for Thirteen Lectures before the Lowell Institute	1,300.00
Subscription for the purchase of MSS.	1,150.00
Subscription to procure a bust of George Peabody	261.00
	<u>\$6,845.51</u>

The undersigned, who were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending April, 1869, have compared the vouchers with the entries, and find them correct, and the balances on the ledger as follows:—

DEBITS.

Appleton Fund	\$666.58
J. E. Thayer & Brothers, on deposit, bearing interest	1,944.00
Cash	433.56
	<u>\$3,044.14</u>

CREDITS.

General account	\$325.90
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,492.86
The Peabody Fund	1,225.38
	<u>\$3,044.14</u>

ROBERT M. MASON, }
N. THAYER, } Committee.

Boston, April 13, 1869.

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consisted of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Nov. 18, 1854, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. It was received from the executors in ten shares of manufacturing stocks. These stocks were sold in February and March, 1863; and the net proceeds, amounting to twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars, were invested in the real estate of the Society, according to the Declaration of Trust on file, and recorded in the Register of Deed's office, book 827, p. 63. Volumes three, four, five, six, seven, and eight, of the Fourth Series of the Society's "Collections," were printed from the income of this fund, and the strictly historical portions of the volumes of the "Proceedings" of the Society for 1862-63, and for 1864-65.

The volume of "Collections" issued last year was uncommonly large; and owing to this, and the increased expenses of printing, the cost of it absorbed the income for the next year.

Account ending April, 1869.

DEBITS.

John Appleton, preparing papers	\$133.36
John Wilson & Son, printing volume VIII. of Collections balance	1,137.84
Benj. Bradley & Co., binding, &c.	81.28
John Wilson & Son, printing volume IX. of Collections	86.03
	<u>\$1,437.51</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of old account	\$38.75
One year's interest of the Fund	732.18
Balance due the Treasurer	666.58
	<u>\$1,437.51</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund was originally two thousand dollars, presented to the Society by Hon. David Sears, by an Instrument dated Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted Nov. 8, 1855. This provides

that the income is to be added to the principal annually between July and January, to form a new investment; but in any year before such investment, the Society may, by vote, expend the income for such purposes as may be required; or it may, by vote, expend the accumulations of the income, in whole or in part, towards the purchase or improvement of the premises belonging to the Society; "or in the purchase of works of art or desirable objects": provided, that in no case whatever "the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished." By vote of the Society, the sum of five hundred dollars was paid July 5, 1859, from the accumulation, in aid of paying the debt incurred by the purchase of the estate which the Society owns. No other expenditure has been made from the accumulations of this fund. On the 26th of December, 1866, the principal was increased by a subscription by Hon. David Sears and Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., each of five hundred dollars, which makes the principal of the fund three thousand dollars. The accumulation of income to Sept. 1, 1867, was \$1,238.55, making the amount on which to cast the interest from Sept. 1, 1867, \$4,238.55.

Account ending Sept. 1, 1868.

DEBITS.	
Balance to new account	\$1,492.86
	<u>\$1,492.86</u>
CREDITS.	
Balance of old account	\$1,238.55
Interest one year on \$4,238.55, to Sept. 1, 1868	254.31
	<u>\$1,492.86</u>

THE PEABODY FUND.

This fund was presented to the Society by George Peabody, Esq., in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, enclosing an order for \$20,000 in 10-40 Coupon Bonds, and providing that they or their proceeds shall be held by the Society as "a permanent trust-fund, of which the income shall be appropriated to the publication and illustration of their Proceedings and Memoirs, and to the preservation of their Historical Portraits." This

trust was accepted by a vote of the Society, Jan. 10, 1867. The Coupon Bonds have been exchanged for two United States 10-40 Bonds of \$10,000 each, registered in the name of the Society, dated Jan. 12, 1867, and numbered 9,904 and 9,905, with the interest payable in Boston.

The volume of "Proceedings" for 1866-67 was printed from the income of this fund, and another volume is passing through the press.

Account to April, 1869.

DEBITS.

Paid John Wilson and Son, for paper	\$262.08
Paid John Wilson and Son, for printing Proceedings	250.00
S. S. Kilburn, engraving	4.76
A. Trochler and Co., printing	9.63
Balance to new account	1,225.38
	<u>\$1,761.84</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of old account	\$368.72
Proceeds of Coupons of September	723.12
Proceeds of Coupons of March	660.00
	<u>\$1,761.84</u>

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund, of ten thousand dollars, was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it was invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watris, secured by mortgage on real estate. This note was paid on the 7th of April, 1863; and the whole fund was then invested in the real estate of the Society. The income of this fund is included in the rent received from the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the expenditure is included in salaries paid to the Assistant Librarian and to Mr. Arnold, who are employed in the care of the Dowse Library.

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street.—The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Institution for Savings, the

second story, and one-half of the attic story, of this building, for \$6,500; and on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others for \$27,500. This mortgage was discharged on the 7th of April, 1863. The payments of the note have been as follows: two thousand dollars from the legacy of Miss Mary P. Townsend; sixteen hundred dollars from the legacy of the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch; five hundred dollars from the Historical Trust-Fund; twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars from the net proceeds of the sale of stocks of the Appleton Fund; ten thousand dollars from the note of Hyde and Watris, constituting the Dowse Fund; and the balance, eleven hundred and ninety-seven dollars, from a donation by the late Hon. William Sturgis, to enable the Society to discharge the mortgage. The lower floor is rented to the Suffolk Savings Bank for fifteen years from March 1, 1856, at an annual rent of \$2,200.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet.—The Library consists of about eighteen thousand volumes and twenty-eight thousand pamphlets.

The Society's Publications.—These consist of the thirty-eight volumes of the "Collections," seven volumes of "Proceedings," and two volumes of the "Catalogue,"—about six thousand volumes, which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars; *The Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund*, of three thousand dollars; *The Dowse Fund*, of ten thousand dollars,—all invested in the real estate and obligations of the Society, as explained in this report.

The Peabody Fund.—Invested in two registered United-States 10—40 Bonds of \$10,000 each, bearing five per cent interest.

The Dowse Library.—This Library was presented to the

Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of four thousand six hundred and fifty volumes.

The Copyright and Stereotype Plates of the "Life of John Quincy Adams." — This was presented to the Society by Hon. Josiah Quincy. It is on sale by Woolworth, Ainsworth, and Company.

Bond of \$1,000 of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad, and a note of \$1,000 of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company, dated Feb. 1, 1869.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment, on each Resident Member, of seven dollars, or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission-fee, of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society; the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams"; the interest on the Peabody Fund; a bond of \$1,000; and a note of \$1,000.

In 1868, the Society received a legacy of \$2,000 from the late Henry Harris, Esq., one-half of which was invested in a Coupon Bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Company. The remainder has been invested in a coupon note of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company. Both securities bear eight per cent interest, and are free of government tax. No conditions were attached to this legacy; and, if thought desirable, it may be constituted into a permanent fund.

The course of thirteen lectures, delivered before the Lowell Institute the past season by members of the Society, produced thirteen hundred dollars, which will be expended for their publication.

The income of the Appleton Fund for the next year, it will be observed, has been absorbed in the publication of the eighth volume of the "Collections"; but the expense of the ninth volume of the "Collections," part of which is in type, can be met from the general fund.

The proceeds of the Peabody Fund will be ample to meet the publication of the volume of "Proceedings" now in the press.

Respectfully submitted,

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Boston, April 18, 1869.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

The By-laws of the Society require the Librarian to present, at the Annual Meeting, "a statement of the condition and wants of the Library, with a notice of the important accessions that have been made to it during the year." In accordance with this requirement, the Librarian respectfully submits the following report.

The growth of the Library during the year has been steady and satisfactory. The accessions may be classified as follows:—

Books	626
Pamphlets	2,361
Bound volumes of newspapers	35
Unbound volumes of newspapers	16
Separate numbers of newspapers	609
Maps	6
Plans	13
Broadsides	32
Volumes of manuscripts	30
Manuscripts	48
Fac-similes of manuscripts	8
	<hr/>
	3,784
	<hr/>

Of the volumes added, 509 were by gift, 107 by exchange, and 10 by purchase. The pamphlets were all given or procured by exchange. Of the duplicates in the Library, there have been exchanged 104 volumes and 86 pamphlets for works wanted, but not owned, by the Society. These exchanges have been made by the Librarian, under the supervision of the

Standing Committee. Of the Society's "Collections" and "Proceedings," 60 volumes have been exchanged for other volumes of its publications, or for books not in the Library. In this way 11 volumes of the "Collections" wanted have been received. In every case where the publications are given out, the exchange is made by the Standing Committee. Three bound volumes of newspapers have been given for four others that were needed to complete sets.

There have been taken out of the Library during the year 197 books, including 9 pamphlets, and all have been returned. This number, however, is no measure of its usefulness, as it is daily consulted by persons who come hither, sometimes from a great distance, to find only in this collection what they want.

There are now in the Library, it is believed, more than 18,000 volumes, including the files of newspapers and the manuscripts; and more than 28,000 pamphlets.

The largest number of books given by any one person during the year was received from the President of the Society, Mr. Winthrop. Among his gifts are 268 volumes, besides many pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts. Of these volumes, 79 are made up of political and miscellaneous tracts, some of them of great rarity and value. With proper precaution, Mr. Winthrop has restricted their use to the Library.

Considerable accessions have been made to the books relating to the Great Rebellion. Mr. Lawrence has continued his gifts to this department, having added 33 volumes and 6 pamphlets. The collection of this class of books now in the Library is a very good one, and we hope the Society will be able to add to it from time to time. It should embrace every thing that has been printed on either side, bearing even remotely on the late war. In future years this kind of literature will be in demand by students of history; and publications now deemed unimportant may be the only means of shedding light on questions of great interest. With these materials, the

time will come when the impartial history of those great events can be written.

Within a few weeks an important addition has been made to the manuscripts in the Library. Through the exertions of the Reverend Dr. Ellis, Mr. Frothingham, and others, the manuscripts of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall, which had been preserved by his descendants during nearly a century and a half, have come into the possession of the Society. These comprise his Journals, Letter-Books, and other miscellaneous papers; and altogether they constitute a valuable collection.

There has been a temporary break in the cataloguing of books and pamphlets during the last four months, owing to the want of an Assistant Librarian. This position having now been filled, it is hoped that the work will go on with regularity and promptness. The card system has been adopted some years, and continues to give satisfaction. Since the last Catalogue was printed, there has been added to the Library a sufficient number of titles to fill a supplementary volume, and the means must soon be provided for printing it. In connection with this subject may be mentioned the want of more shelf-room. The present accommodation for books is all taken up; and additional shelves, if only for temporary use, must be put up to meet the exigency. This fact, however, is not stated to discourage any member who has the intention of giving a few volumes to the Library, from carrying out his benevolent purposes.

Before closing this report, the Librarian desires to put upon record his high appreciation of the services rendered in many ways by the late Dr. John Appleton, who was the Assistant Librarian of the Society during fourteen years. His health was so feeble that he was obliged to hand in his resignation, which took effect on the 1st of December last. It was then hoped that the Society would not lose altogether the benefit of his large experience in matters pertaining to antiquarian and historical studies. In the following January, he was elected a

Resident Member; but his associates never had the pleasure of seeing him at a meeting, as he died on the 4th of February. In his death the Society lost one whose place it will be hard to fill.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

APRIL 15, 1869.

The Cabinet-keeper's Report.

The Cabinet-keeper of the Massachusetts Historical Society submits the following report for the year ending April 15th.

During the year, the Cabinet of the Society has received accessions from Messrs. Deane, Green, Whitmore, and Winthrop, of the Resident Members; from Mr. Grigsby, a Corresponding Member; and from Messrs. G. C. Burgess, A. W. Corliss, G. W. Pearson, H. Powers, G. T. Sproat, C. L. Whitman, F. A. Whitney, Miss A. L. Pierce, and the Building Committee of the First Church in Boston.

Among the most interesting of these accessions are the bust of Mr. George Peabody, by Powers, given by the President of the Society; framed photographs of the Old Brick or First Church in Boston, and of the First Church in Chauncy Street; a photograph of Daniel Webster, from an early daguerreotype; a collection of one hundred and forty-two engraved portraits of distinguished men of France of the last century; photographs of Benjamin Franklin, Adolphe de Circourt, and the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund; and an engraved portrait of Peter Stuyvesant.

The identification, by Mr. George Arnold, of the portrait of Thomas Hutchinson, now hanging in the Society's upper room, as the original portrait by Truman, presented to the Society by Peter Wainwright, Jr., deserves special mention, as for many years another portrait has been supposed to be the original, and has been engraved as such.

The Cabinet-keeper cannot refrain from expressing the conviction, that valuable additions to the Cabinet might be made,

were there proper accommodation for them, so that they could be arranged for the inspection of members and others; and, following the example of his predecessors for some years past, he urges the matter on the consideration of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY G. DENNY, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 15, 1869.

Mr. LINCOLN, from the Committee appointed to nominate candidates for the offices of the Society, after stating that the Hon. John C. Gray had declined to serve again as Vice-President, presented the following list:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BROOKLINE.

Vice-Presidents.

COL. THOMAS ASPINWALL, A.M. BOSTON.

HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, LL.D. QUINCY.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

HENRY G. DENNY, A.M. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

WILLIAM G. BROOKS, Esq. BOSTON.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. BOSTON.

REV. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, D.D. BOSTON.

HON. JAMES M. ROBBINS. MILTON.

HENRY W. TORREY, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

For the Committee.

SOLOMON LINCOLN.

Boston, April 15, 1869.

This list of officers was adopted by the Society for the ensuing year.

Mr. LINCOLN offered the following, which was unanimously adopted.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. John C. Gray, Vice-President, and to Dr. Eliot, and W. C. Endicott, Esq., retiring members of the Standing Committee, for the interest they have manifested, and the valuable services they have rendered, in promoting the objects of the Society.

Professor WASHBURN announced the Memoir of Levi Lincoln as ready for publication.



Levi Lincoln



MEMOIR
OF
HON. LEVI LINCOLN.

BY EMORY WASHBURN.

THE circumstances under which such a memoir as is proposed in the following pages, must, almost necessarily, be prepared, should serve as an apology for its defective execution. The work to be done is not sufficiently removed from the subject of it, to have had its relations to the historical events with which it is connected, sufficiently defined to do it justice; while, on the other hand, the personal relations of the writer to one with whom he had long been associated in the offices of courtesy and friendship, are in danger of giving to the work more of the character of a eulogy than an impartial biography. Such are some of the embarrassments which are to be anticipated, in undertaking to prepare a notice of the Hon. Levi Lincoln, in accordance with the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with which he was associated. The most that can be hoped, in the way of its execution, is, that the details here preserved may serve as materials for a more ample memoir of one who has been identified with so many of the events which have characterized the last half-century of the history of the country.

To do any thing like justice to the subject, it will be necessary to speak of his private, his professional, and his political

life, in each of which he was eminent for the qualities which commanded the respect and esteem of the people of the Commonwealth.

The father of Governor Lincoln bore the same name, and was hardly less eminent than the son, in his professional and political career. He was born in Hingham, in 1749; and was graduated at Harvard in 1772. In 1775, he was admitted to the bar, and settled in the then rural village of Worcester. There were only two lawyers remaining in the county. The leading members of the profession had left the country, on account of their political antagonism to the prevailing sentiments of the people. By diligent devotion to business, with the skill and ability which he brought to the practice of his profession, he rose to high distinction as a lawyer, at the same time that he was taking a leading part in the political agitations of the day.

He was one of the two who were promoted to the rank of Barristers in that county after the Revolution. He was chosen to Congress in 1800; and, in the following year, was appointed by President Jefferson, Attorney-General of the United States. In 1807, he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor, and re-elected in 1808; and, upon the death of Governor Sullivan, became Acting Governor. In 1811, he was nominated to a place on the bench of the United-States Supreme Court, but declined it, on account of a growing defect of vision, which terminated in almost total blindness. He died in 1820, at the age of seventy-one. His wife was a daughter of Daniel Waldo, Esq., of Worcester.

Levi Lincoln, the subject of this notice, was the oldest of the children of this marriage. He was born on the 25th of October, 1782. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1802, in a class long distinguished by the eminent rank to which many of its members attained in the professions and in civil life, two only of whom still survive. Upon leaving college, he entered upon the study of the law, and was admitted to

the bar of the Court of Common Pleas in Worcester, in 1805. As the law then stood, it required two years' practice at that bar, before an admission could be gained to that of the Supreme Judicial Court, as an attorney; and two years more, before one could be made a counsellor. He began practice in Worcester; and, in due course, became attorney and counsellor in the Supreme Judicial Court. Among the men then at the bar, were Francis Blake, Jabez Upham, and Seth Hastings. And among those who were afterwards his contemporaries, and whom he survived, were John Davis and Samuel M. Burnside; whose names are a warrant for claiming for that bar a rank that, to win distinction or eminent success as a member of it, required a more than ordinary share of talent and ability. Mr. Lincoln, at once, gave an earnest of the success that awaited him, by the zeal and energy with which he engaged in the business of the profession, and the skill and good judgment with which he conducted the cases which he had in charge. His business rapidly increased; and, in a few years, he found himself among the leaders of that bar. To attain this, against such a competition as he had to contend with, must have required effort and talent of a high order, when it is remembered that Mr. Blake was one of the ablest advocates in Massachusetts.

Much of his success may be ascribed to the less dazzling and more commonplace qualities, which any man, of fair talents, may bring to the profession,—earnest devotion to whatever he had to do, fidelity to his clients, and a thorough preparation in every thing which he undertook. There was, moreover, in his intercourse with the bench and the bar, as well as with his clients, a courtesy of manner which, undoubtedly, aided him in winning his way as a lawyer. Something may also be ascribed to his early political associations, which brought him into connection with an active and earnest body of men, who were ready to repay, by their patronage and favor, the aid which he contributed to the cause in which they were engaged.

But every one acquainted with professional success in a lawyer, knows that something more is wanted than personal address, or political favor, to attain to eminence in the field which he has entered. The client does not choose his advocate because he is personally a popular favorite, but because he feels a confidence that his cause will be safe in his hands.

The professional labors of a lawyer, in country practice, such as that in which Mr. Lincoln engaged, were almost infinitely varied, as well as at times exceedingly complicated and perplexing. The duties of chamber counsel were mixed up with those of a scrivener and conveyancer, while the preparation and trial of jury causes were carried on at the same time that he must be investigating and applying the most profound principles of law, as well as its technical rules of detail, in the discussion of questions before the bench.

The consequence was, that his life, while at the bar, was exceedingly laborious. His services were greatly sought as a jury advocate; and although he always argued questions of law before the whole court, with a thorough preparation, and with acknowledged ability, it was before the jury that he achieved his most distinguished success. Nor were his efforts confined to his own county. His services were being sought in other parts of the State, to which he was called, when he was removed from that field of labor, and promoted to a place upon the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court.

Of his manner, and the elements of his success as an advocate, it may be more appropriate to speak in another place. But it may be remarked, in passing, that he illustrated in that, as in every other business or occupation in which he engaged, a thoroughness in whatever he had to do, that gave a dignity and importance to even the ordinary affairs of life. The duties, moreover, as well as the rewards of the profession, were in harmony with his taste and early training; and he never forgot or ceased to recall with pleasure, in after life, the period during which he was connected with it, or the associa-

tions which such memories awakened of the struggles by which he rose to the places of trust and honor which he afterwards was called to fill. Nor did he give up the idea, which he cherished for many years, of returning to it, until quite a late period in his life.

In February, 1824, a vacancy having occurred upon the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, by the resignation of Judge Thatcher, Mr. Lincoln, then Lieutenant-Governor of the State, was appointed, by Governor Eustis, to the place. The selection was generally acceptable to the profession, and was received with great favor by the people of the Commonwealth. The bitterness of party feeling which had, at one time, divided the people, had been losing much of its severity, and had prepared them to welcome, on both sides, the nomination which was now made. And the manner in which he performed his duties fully justified his selection for the office. He had a just and appreciative sense of its dignity and importance, and addressed himself, at once, to meet its responsibilities. His preparation at the bar had familiarized him with its details; and his habits of investigating difficult and complicated questions, as a lawyer, were of immense advantage to him in weighing arguments, and reaching conclusions as a judge. If an overcrowded and busy life had left him little leisure to gather up the learning which is found in the books, the quickness and tact with which he brought the results of his reading and experience to bear upon the questions upon which he was called to pass, left little to be desired which his diligence did not readily supply. These remarks are fully justified by an administration of a little more than a year, during which time he had occasion to prepare opinions upon questions of importance, which have ever since been regarded as leading and authoritative statements of the law, upon the subjects to which they relate. A new sphere of activity was about to open to Mr. Lincoln, while that of the bar and the bench became practically closed. But

he always spoke of his connection with these with affectionate regret, and retained to the last a high sense of the dignity and importance of the profession to which he had devoted twenty years of earnest and hopeful labor. He was now entering upon the more eminent and attractive period of his public career. He had taken an active part in the political discussions of the day, and, at length, was to assume the Chief Magistracy, and become the political head of the Commonwealth. In this case, however, it did not imply the leadership of a party.

This is no place or occasion to discuss the merits of the questions which divided the country at the time when Mr. Lincoln began active life. But the earnestness with which they were discussed, and the extent to which personal feeling became enlisted in the maintenance of the issues upon which opinions were divided, can hardly be conceived from any thing which is witnessed in the political discussions of our own day. His father had not only been in sympathy with Mr. Jefferson in his political views, from judgment and conviction, but shared largely in his personal confidence and regard. He was a zealous "Republican," as those who were opposed to the Federal party were then called. The party was a rising one, and professing to represent the popular democratic element in the government, it was not surprising that the son should have early felt these influences, and, when he came to act, should have thrown himself with the zeal and ardor of a young man into the contest. His family connection, his ready eloquence, and his popular address soon gave him a commanding influence in his party, and attracted a corresponding disposition to censure and animadvert upon his course, on the part of those who were opposed to him. Bitter things were said of him, and harsh epithets applied to the measures he advocated, and the policy he espoused. In contrast with the circumstances under which he was raised to the chair of the Chief Magis-

trate, it would be suggestive as well as instructive to copy from the partisan press of that day the language in which men and their motives were dealt with, on the one side and the other, and to remember that there is nothing like the logic of events to break down the barriers which separate men in their opinions, and to bring them together upon a common basis. Such was, eminently, true in the case of Governor Lincoln. The Federalists had uniformly been in the ascendant in Massachusetts, until 1807, when, for the first time, a "Republican" Governor was elected. In 1812, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Senate from the County of Worcester. And so prominent had he already become in the State, that he was selected by that body to prepare the formal customary answer, to the message of Governor Strong, who had been elected by the Federal party. This election to the Senate seems to have been the first of that series of popular elections for which the political course of Mr. Lincoln became distinguished.

In 1814, he was elected a representative to the General Court, from the town of Worcester, but found himself in a minority, in that body. At no time, perhaps, before or since, was party excitement in the Commonwealth more intense or active than in that year. It was in the midst of the war with Great Britain. There was a strong feeling on the part of large numbers in New England, that her interests had been neglected by the General Government, that the war was unnecessary, and that the policy of the administration was illiberal and unwise, and counter to the spirit and intent of the Constitution. An additional cause of excitement on the part of Massachusetts was awakened in the circumstance that a portion of her territory had been seized and occupied by the enemy. But while the Federal party were thus embittered towards the national administration, there was a growing disposition among the people, as the war progressed, to sustain it. And in the election of Governor in the spring of 1814, the majority for

the Federal candidate scarcely exceeded one hundred, in a vote of more than 102,000. The majority, however, in the Legislature was large and decisive. The feeling which had been growing stronger, with their losses and reverses in the war, culminated at last in a resolution for appointing "delegates from this Legislature to meet and confer with delegates from the States of New England, or any of them, upon the subjects of their public grievances and concerns, and upon the best means of preserving our resources, and of defence against the enemy, and to devise and suggest, for adoption by those respective States, such measures as they may deem expedient; and also, to take measures, if they shall think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of *all* the people, by placing *all* upon the basis of fair representation."

This resolution has been transcribed in full, as a part of the history of the times, and especially of the convention which assembled at Hartford, in December, 1814, the memory of which is still associated with the odium which the real or affected apprehensions of the public, at large, attached to it at the time. And yet it is difficult to find in the language made use of, or the character of the men who took part in it, any thing to justify the censure to which it was subjected. Whatever cause of apprehension or alarm there was in calling such a convention, is to be sought in the circumstances under which it was held. At the present day, it would serve for the excitement of an hour, and be forgotten in something equally grave which might arise to engage public curiosity and attention.

At the time, however, it was doubtless a matter of serious import. The resolution was carried by a vote of 260 to 90. A minority both of the Senate and House made separate protests against the adoption of the resolution. That on the part of the House was drawn by Mr. Lincoln, and signed by

seventy-five members besides himself. The language of the remonstrance justifies the remark just made, when it says, "The undersigned therefore cannot disguise their apprehensions, that more must be designed than is distinctly avowed."

Among the consequences which they anticipated from the measure, as expressed by them, were that "Jealousy and contention will ensue. The Constitution, hitherto respected as the charter of national liberty and consecrated as the ark of our political safety, will be violated and destroyed; and in civil dissensions and convulsions our independence will be annihilated." Fortunately, though the convention was held, no such disastrous consequences followed; and the actors in the scene, on both sides, lived to appreciate the honesty of each others' motives, and to respect the sentiment which prompted the ardor of their zeal. As an index, however, of the feeling which prevailed at the time, the fact should be stated, that this protest, though respectful in its terms and signed by so large a number of members, was refused a place upon the Journal of the House. With such a lesson from the past, one can hardly fail to look hopefully upon the future of our popular frame of government, which seems to gather strength from every struggle through which it has been called to pass. From 1814 to 1822, inclusive, with the exception of three years, when he declined being a candidate, Mr. Lincoln was a member of the House of Representatives. The last of these years, he was elected Speaker, although the majority of the House and the Governor were of the opposite school of politics. The truth is, that political asperity was fast giving way to a better state of feeling; and the tact and independence which Mr. Lincoln had displayed in his long experience in legislative proceedings, had fitted him admirably for the place. Nor did he disappoint the House. He combined promptness with accuracy, firmness with urbanity, and dignity with impartiality, in presiding over their deliberations. Few incumbents of the office have ever

excelled, if they have equalled him, in the qualities which constitute an able and acceptable Speaker.

In 1820, in consequence of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, it became necessary to amend or modify the constitution of her government. A convention for that purpose was accordingly called. And in the selection of members, the people chose their best and ablest men. No body of men ever surpassed them, in Massachusetts, for wisdom, personal and social influence, patriotism and practical sagacity. The various professions and callings in life were ably represented. Judges of the highest courts, and statesmen of the broadest experience, with the ripest scholars, had a place in its deliberations. When the names of John Adams, Chief-Justice Parker, Judges Wilde and Story, Webster, Quincy, Shaw, and Hubbard, afterwards of the Supreme Court, Hoar, and Saltonstall, are mentioned among its members, it is hardly necessary to add, that to take a leading part in the business of such a convention, must have called for a high order of talent, as well as great personal influence and respect. Mr. Lincoln was one of its members. In his political views and opinions he differed from many of his associates. He early engaged in its discussions, and showed himself a ready and effective debater. He never hesitated to avow and defend his opinions; and this, at least, may be said, if he did not convince his opponents, he did not lose their respect, nor fail to command the attention of the convention. The part which he took in giving shape and consistency to the constitution might justify a fuller notice of the subjects which engaged his more immediate attention, but this can only be done by a reference to its reported debates, which would exceed the limits of the present memoir.

The separation of Maine from Massachusetts involved, moreover, the adjustment of important interests between them, such as the division of the public lands; and a commission for this purpose was created, upon which Mr. Lincoln held a prominent place.

In tracing the elevation of Mr. Lincoln to the post of Chief Magistrate, it is necessary to say a single word of the change through which the Commonwealth had been passing in its political views. The Democratic party, as it was ultimately called, had been gradually gaining strength; and the course of the dominant party in the State, during the war with England, had given occasion for a considerable defection from its support, especially among the younger portion of her citizens. With the removal, however, of the original grounds of disaffection and dispute, the feeling thereby engendered gradually died away, so that the second term of Mr. Monroe's administration was spoken of as "the era of good feeling"; his election having been all but unanimous, as there was but one vote against him, out of 231. This took place in 1820. While this feeling prevailed in respect to the national elections, the lines still remained pretty distinctly drawn in Massachusetts. Governor Brooks held office from 1816 to 1823. In the latter year, Governor Eustis, who was of opposite politics, succeeded him; and Mr. Lincoln was chosen Lieutenant-Governor. But this state of things was fast passing away. At the presidential election in 1823, Mr. Lincoln was one of the electors, on the part of Massachusetts, and cast a vote for John Quincy Adams. In 1824, Mr. Lathrop was nominated as a candidate for Governor against Governor Eustis, receiving 34,000 votes to 38,000 for the latter. Governor Eustis died in February, 1825. The parties seem to have made this an occasion for coming together, and agreeing upon some one whom both might support for the vacant place. Mr. Lathrop declined to be a candidate again for the office, and Mr. Lincoln declined being a candidate upon a Democratic nomination, because he was unwilling to stand in the way of unanimity in the action of the two parties; whereupon, it was voted by the Federal Convention that it was not expedient to make a party nomination, and, upon a ballot for a candidate for the office of Governor, Mr. Lincoln received a

unanimous vote. And, of the thirty-seven thousand votes cast at the election in 1825, he received thirty-five thousand, and entered upon the office the last Wednesday of May, 1825.

In order to understand and appreciate the character of the labor upon which he now engaged, it will be necessary to recall, for a moment, the prior history of the Commonwealth. Forty-two years had indeed elapsed since the treaty of peace consummated the war of independence; and thirty-seven, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. But it ought not to be forgotten, how many had been the causes of embarrassment in the way of reducing the affairs of the Commonwealth to a condition of order, and establishing its industrial, educational, and economical interests upon a satisfactory basis.

She had come out of the war borne down with a weight of debt, which left her little power to do any thing beyond devising means to meet the interest upon it. The message of the Governor in 1786 stated the proper debt of Massachusetts, independent of her share of the Federal debt, at over £1,600,000, requiring an annual interest of over £88,000. The alarming outbreak of lawless violence, known as Shays's Rebellion, was a culmination of the discontent arising from this impoverishment of the State, the general prostration of business incident to such a debt, and the unsettled state of public credit. Moreover, till considerably into the present century, the avenues to wealth were confined to agriculture, commerce, and the fisheries. Manufactures took their rise within the recollection of many now on the stage of action. Even the sources of business and occupation which did exist, became cramped and embarrassed by the embargo of 1807, and the subsequent derangement of our commerce up to the close of the war of 1812. In the meantime, business and capital were seeking other avenues, and required the aid and countenance of the government. The war, moreover, had engrossed much of the attention of the

public mind. So that these and a variety of like causes and circumstances had operated to prevent that attention to the domestic institutions of the State, on the part of its rulers, which their importance might otherwise have claimed. Our manufacturing system was to be built up. Our schools were hardly improved from the condition in which they were left at the close of the Revolution. The arrangement of our prisons and the whole subject of prison discipline were in a very low and unsatisfactory state. Our means of internal trade and intercourse had not risen above the few lines of turnpike-road and stage coaches, which maintained a precarious struggle for success. Nor is it too much to say, that the trade and business of Massachusetts, at the time of Governor Lincoln's accession to the executive chair, were in such a problematical condition, that an indifference towards them on his part and that of the Legislature would have long retarded, if it had not ultimately paralyzed, them. Fortunately for the Commonwealth, it found in him, not only a chief magistrate who understood the wants of its citizens, but one who was ready to devote an unwearied and unremitting effort to take care of and advance to the utmost, her social, political, and economical interests of every description. In his inaugural message, he refers to several of them, and calls for an early attention to them. A favorite scheme for internal communication at that time was the construction of a canal from Boston to Connecticut River. This he refers to, with favor, and suggests that he has been assured that another mode, by railways, had been approved of in England. But "how far they would be affected by our severe frosts cannot be conjectured yet," and whether they are better than canals remained to be determined. He speaks with approbation of the encouragement recently given to agriculture, by the incorporation of societies, and calls upon the Legislature to relieve the manufacturing interests, by a change of the law which held stockholders in corporations liable, personally, for the

debts of their company to an unlimited extent. He accompanies these statements with the suggestive fact that commerce was falling off, and reminds the Legislature of the necessity of prompt measures in favor of a revival of the trade and business of the State. In his message in January, 1826, he again presses the subject of a canal; and this he repeats in that of June that year, and states reasons why canals are preferable to railways.

As an illustration of the candor and good sense with which he treated questions of a public nature, it may be stated that the experience of civil engineering had thus far been, chiefly, in the direction of canals. That of the Duke of Bridgewater in England had been eminently successful. The Erie Canal had been completed in 1825, and was then in full and satisfactory operation, while that from Worcester to Providence was in a state of great forwardness. There was a general feeling, moreover, that something must be done to aid the business of Boston, or her decline in wealth and population would be inevitable. The canals then in progress and in contemplation would have the effect to divert the trade from the counties west of Middlesex to the Narraganset Bay and the Sound. At the June session of 1826, a motion had been made for a committee to consider and report upon the subject of a railroad from Boston to the North River, near Albany. And though it met with no approval, it had been adopted, and the committee reported in favor of such a measure. This, it will be recollected, was before a locomotive had been constructed; and horse-power, alone, was contemplated as the means of draught. Nor is it easy now to conceive, with what incredulity and ridicule the proposition was at first received. The report of the committee, however, received at the hands of Governor Lincoln all the consideration which the subject deserved; and, although he had already in a measure committed himself to the scheme of a canal, he did not allow his preconceived opinions to stand in the way of

the measure. In his message of January, 1827, he says: "Their report will come recommended by the assurance that their attention has been perseveringly directed to the interesting objects of their commission; and that, short of the expense and labor of a board of scientific engineers, a better source of authentic information could not be resorted to by the government." The subject, when thus broached, acquired so much importance in the public mind, that a Board of Internal Improvement was established by an act of the Legislature in 1828, to consist of nine persons; and Governor Lincoln was placed at its head. Under their advice and encouragement, a system of railroads was inaugurated; and in just fifteen years from the date of the report which encountered such ridicule for the wildness of the scheme it proposed, the road from Boston to Albany was opened for travel.

Among the railroads incorporated during the administration of Governor Lincoln, was that from Boston to the "City of Lowell," in 1829, though the name of that city had no place upon the map of Massachusetts at the time of his inauguration. It would be easy to dwell more at large upon the system of internal improvements, which took its rise during this administration, and to which he lent a prompt and efficient aid, and to trace the growth and increased prosperity of the Commonwealth in connection with the progress of these enterprises. But to do so would require a larger space than can properly be allowed for a personal memoir. In reminding the reader that the products of the industry of Massachusetts in the year ending in May, 1865, exceeded five hundred millions of dollars, it would require no labored effort to show that something more was wanting than soil and climate, or the individual toil and labor of the citizen, to work out such gratifying results. Facilities for trade and intercourse were not the only objects of the care and encouragement of Governor Lincoln. As already stated, home industry, in the form of manufactures of various kinds, was a subject

of special interest to him. In the then condition of the arts of manufacture, he saw the wisdom of fostering them by the action of the government. In his public messages and addresses, he maintained the policy of encouraging and protecting home industry, and, in one of them, in 1826, referred for illustration, to the "villages" of Lowell and Ware, when the term "village" was still applicable, alike, to both. He presided at a public meeting in Boston of the growers and manufacturers of wool, the following year, and in that year was chosen President of the New-England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts. His relation to the agriculture of the State will be mentioned in another connection. The countenance and encouragement rendered by the chief magistrate of the State to the cause of American industry, in its early struggles for success, had a value and importance which can hardly be appreciated in a community in which its interests are so thoroughly established as they now are here. This was felt and acknowledged at a time when the manufacturer had not only to contend with competition from abroad, but adverse laws at home; and it should not be forgotten now that a wiser policy has become the settled conviction of the public mind, and the Commonwealth is reaping the fruits of such a policy.

A subject which gave Governor Lincoln early and anxious solicitude, was the condition of the State Prison, and the system of discipline prevailing in the treatment and management of prisoners. To understand this, it should be borne in mind, that the former barbarous custom of whipping, cropping, and shutting-up in dungeons and jails, in idleness, those who had been convicted of crimes, had, for many years, been discontinued. An important step towards a penitentiary system of punishment had already been taken by the erection of a prison at Charlestown, and by requiring of its inmates a certain amount of labor in shops within the prison-yard. But the idea of solitary or sepa-

rate confinement, when not engaged in labor, had been developed, for the first time, at the Auburn Penitentiary, almost coincident with the election of Governor Lincoln. He found the inmates of the prison at Charlestown lodged in large rooms, containing, in some cases, sixteen persons, where they were shut up together, thus subjecting the yet unhardened convict to the certain process of hopeless corruption and remediless ruin. They were literally festering in each other's defilement, under the pretence of correction and reform. In his annual message of January, 1826, Governor Lincoln gives a graphic picture of the condition of these inmates, and adds, in characteristic terms, "Better even that the laws should be written in blood, than thus be executed in sin." He recommended substituting for such a prison one upon the plan of that at Auburn; and, under his auspices, a most important reform was early accomplished.

The subject of the condition of the insane in the Commonwealth attracted the attention of the Legislature as early as 1827. The idea of curing insanity by medical care and treatment was entertained but by few in the community; while many of those who were suffering under this malady were shut up in jails and cages, or subjected to rigid and severe restraint in solitude and neglect, and cut off from every hope or chance of restoration. In 1829, an act was passed for the erection and establishment of a State Lunatic Hospital, in the location and construction of which, as well as the completeness of its appointments, Governor Lincoln took an active and lively interest. In 1832, he issued his proclamation, opening it for the public use, and thereby offering comfort and kind and skilful treatment to that unfortunate class of suffering humanity.

The subject of popular education was one in which he always manifested an interest, as well before as after his term of office, and was made a prominent theme in his official messages and addresses. To him, it is believed, the Com-

monwealth owes the inauguration of the measures which resulted in that essential element in her present common-school system, the *Normal School*. In his message of Jan. 7, 1826, he refers to the suggestion of an institution to qualify teachers, and commends the measure to "the fostering patronage of the Legislature." He renews this in stronger terms in his message of June following, and again urges its importance in a more distinct and definite form, in that of January, 1827. These recommendations were so far matured that in February, 1828, the Committee of the Legislature on Education reported a bill providing for the establishment of a school fund, to be, among other things, "appropriated to the endowment of an institution for the instruction of school-teachers in each county of the Commonwealth." But the measure, for some reason, was not then carried; though it never seems to have been lost sight of, till it resulted in a Normal School, such as the Commonwealth is now enjoying.

A circumstance connected with the administration of Governor Lincoln, may be mentioned, as tending to show the independence with which he met its responsibilities. Although the Constitution had been adopted in 1780, giving to the Executive the right of Veto, it had never been exercised by any of his predecessors. An act incorporating a musical society, in Salem, had been passed, and sent to him for his approval. But, while he was a strenuous advocate for that system of business corporations by which small capitalists could unite and manage their resources to advantage, without the embarrassments of large copartnerships, he was not for needlessly multiplying these artificial persons, where the power and influence of numbers could be directed and controlled by a few active managers, and the responsible influence of individuals be thus lost upon a community. And believing that the proposed corporation was of the latter class, he interposed his veto to its passage, in which he was sustained by the Legislature. But the more important matter upon which he

felt called upon to exercise this power, was one which had for some time excited much interest in the eastern part of the State, and became mixed up with its legislation, by the influence of those who were immediately concerned in the scheme. That was the erection of a bridge over Charles River, between Charlestown and Boston, side by side with the one already built, and opening it to the free use of the public. The obvious effect of this measure would be to destroy the value of the old bridge, which was originally erected by a private corporation, with a right to take toll, and the shares in which had become very valuable. Relying upon the supposed pledge of the government, that the moneys thus invested should be secure under the protection of the law, large amounts of the capital stock were held by trustees, charities, and persons retired from business. Opposed to these were those who paid toll for the accommodation provided by such a bridge, and the owners of property, who believed that a free highway, between Boston and its suburbs, would enhance its value. And it is hardly necessary to add, that it was not difficult, in such a controversy, to enlist the weight of numbers in favor of the measure. The question that underlay the whole subject, was, What, in fact, did the Legislature grant to the proprietors of the Charles-River Bridge, by their original charter? On the one side, it was insisted, that the charter for the bridge was a compact between the Commonwealth and those who were willing to invest their money in the enterprise, by becoming stockholders in its capital; that the latter should erect and maintain a bridge for the use of the public (who would pay a reasonable toll for its accommodation), and, as a consideration for that, they should have the chance of being reimbursed for their moneys expended in the work, by enjoying the line of travel which was thereby to be accommodated, without any act on the part of the Commonwealth to divert it, or deprive them of it. Those who treated it as a simple grant of a franchise insisted that there was nothing, in the terms of

it, which limited the power of the Commonwealth to erect, or authorize others to erect, any number of bridges, which the Legislature might judge to be of public utility. But while the discussions, to which the question gave rise, involved these points of radical difference, they elicited a sharp controversy, in which there was much feeling. This found its way into the Legislature, and threatened to be visited upon any one who should come out in opposition to the popular cry for free avenues of business. With the minority in that body, it was a broader question than the technical limitation of that particular grant, and reached to the general policy of good faith on the part of the government. It had a bearing upon future enterprises, requiring the employment of associated capital. Even if, in the letter of the grant, the Legislature had not restricted their right of granting new charters, it was too plain for contradiction, that both they who granted the original charter, and they who advanced their money under it, understood that there should be a reciprocal benefit to the public and the stockholders, and that the Legislature could not, in good faith, take away, without compensation, what they had implicitly granted, after having received, in return, every thing which they had required of the holders of the charter. But so strong was the feeling in the House, when the question of a "free bridge" came up for consideration, that an effort to delay the subject, even for a few days, to give members an opportunity to examine it, was defeated; and, after a sharp but able and elaborate debate, it was carried by a strong vote. Some of the ablest men in the House opposed it with signal ability; and the whole merits of the proposition were canvassed, but without changing the determination of the majority. When, therefore, the question of approval came before the Governor, he was obliged to meet it upon its own merits; and if he opposed the popular sentiment under which it had been carried, he saw that he must encounter the odium of disappointed partisans, and the strong current

of public feeling in its favor. But he did not shrink from the responsibility, nor seek to evade the performance of an unpleasant duty. He was satisfied, on the whole, that the act ought not to pass; and he fearlessly said so, in a veto message of great ability, which will remain a perpetual memorial of his sense of justice, his regard for the faith and honor of the Commonwealth, and his manly independence in maintaining his opinion of what was right and duty, against the pressure of popular clamor. Though the bill was carried through the succeeding Legislature, and was afterwards sustained by the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, there was nothing in their judgment which impugned the soundness of the views upon which the veto of the Governor had been based. A protest of a most respectable minority of the Legislature against the passage of the act was entered upon its records, and sustained the wisdom and policy of the Executive in interposing his disapproval of it as a legislative measure.

While calling to mind the purity of motive and firmness of purpose, with which he performed the duties of his office, as the Governor of the State and not of a party, by which his administration was uniformly characterized, there was a circumstance connected with the exercise of the appointing power, which ought not to pass unnoticed. By the sudden and lamented death of Chief-Justice Parker, of the Supreme Judicial Court, it became necessary to fill the place by some one to be nominated by the Executive. It will be recollected, that with the remaining members of that court his relations had ever been of the most intimate and friendly character. He had been one of their associates upon the Bench; and he knew, therefore, the high estimate in which they were justly held by the community and the Bar, for those qualities which distinguish an upright and able judge. It would have been a grateful exercise of his prerogative, and one in which the public would have cheerfully acquiesced, to have promoted one of

their number to the vacant place. He knew, however, the importance of the position. It was second to none in the Commonwealth. It demanded high qualifications, and talents of a most varied character. It was, therefore, an object of far greater interest on the part of Governor Lincoln in selecting a candidate, to find one whose competency for the place was undoubted, than to gratify any personal preferences of his own. And the wisdom of his choice was justified by the long and brilliant administration of Chief-Justice Shaw, upon whom the appointment fell. He, at once, established a claim to the highest rank as a jurist. And for honesty, uprightness, and devotion to duty, his record is without a spot. His selection for the place, and the circumstances under which it was made, reflect the highest credit for sagacity, good judgment, and personal independence, upon the course pursued by Governor Lincoln in this delicate and responsible duty.

But it is not within the purpose of this memoir, to dwell, in detail, upon the measures in which Governor Lincoln took a part, during his then unprecedented continuous term of office. Of the estimate in which he was held as a magistrate, no evidence is needed beyond the uninterrupted succession of elections until 1834, when he voluntarily withdrew from being any longer a candidate. Nor is it too much to say, that he retired from the place with the universal respect and grateful esteem of his fellow-citizens. He had come into office at a time when it required, in the chief magistrate, talents and qualities of a high and varied character, sound judgment, broad and liberal views, a familiarity with details, a skill in the adaptation of means to ends, a knowledge of men and an unselfish desire to advance the best interests of the Commonwealth. The summary which even this imperfect sketch has given of what was accomplished for the promotion of the establishment and improvement of her industry, her schools, her institutions of charity for the unfortunate, and of reform for the criminal, would justify what many have been ready to

claim for his administration, a distinguished success which has not been surpassed by that of any of the illustrious chief magistrates of the Commonwealth. One circumstance might have been mentioned, in passing, which served to show a singleness of purpose on his part, while it indicated the estimate in which he was held by the Legislature. Upon the expiration of Mr. Mills's term of office as Senator in Congress, an attempt was made to elect a successor in February, 1827. Several ballottings were had, in which the House and Senate cast their votes for different candidates. At one of these, the Senate, by a vote of 26 out of 39, chose Governor Lincoln, on the part of that branch. But before the House had an opportunity to concur or otherwise, he addressed a communication to the latter body, declining to be considered a candidate for the place; and no one was elected during the session.

Upon retiring from the office of Governor, Mr. Lincoln found that he had been obliged to make such considerable drafts upon his private resources to meet the requirements of the place, that he made up his mind to resume business in his original profession, and had made an arrangement for the formation of a copartnership with that view, when, upon the urgent solicitation of his fellow-citizens, he consented to be a candidate to fill the vacancy in Congress, occasioned by the election of Governor Davis, as his successor. He was elected to that and the three succeeding Congresses; and here he was distinguished for the same habits and qualities which had characterized him in whatever place he had been previously called to fill. He was constant in his attendance, diligent in his attention to business, and intelligent and independent in his action. Though decided in his political views, and uncompromising in his advocacy of what he considered a sound national policy, he never would lend himself to a factious opposition, nor consent to be a party to a scheme of questionable propriety or honor. An instance of this occurred during the canvass for President, at the election of General Harrison. Among the things charged against

President Van Buren, and designed to create a prejudice against him in the minds of certain classes in the community, was the luxurious style in which he lived, and the extravagance in which he indulged by an ostentatious display of table and other furniture. The doctrine that "all is fair in politics" was liberally applied in the campaign of 1840, and a member from Pennsylvania made himself famous by the manner in which he arraigned the President in a speech upon the floor of Congress, for the use of "gold spoons" and other articles of luxury upon his dinner-table. This was received with great favor in certain quarters, but it was little suited to the taste or sense of decency of Mr. Lincoln, who rose at once to reply to what he regarded as an unwarranted and undignified attack upon the occupant of the Executive Mansion. He was unwilling that even a good cause should borrow aid from so questionable a means of attack, and he proceeded to show that the charge of extravagance was unfounded, and that, even if it were true, the incumbent of the White House was not responsible for the expenditure. The circumstance is nowise important except as showing a characteristic sense of honor that instinctively spurned to carry a measure by base or underhand expedients. Mr. Lincoln frequently took part in the debates in Congress, and several of his more elaborate speeches were published, and might be more specifically referred to. But, beyond showing the care he always manifested to make himself master of his subject, and the directness with which he engaged in the discussions in which he took a part, it would be of little use to dwell upon them more at length. One thing, however, may, with justice, be said of Mr. Lincoln's Congressional career; and that is, his course was such as to command the respect of the House. He never obtruded himself for the purpose of display, he never came to the discussion of a question without being prepared, he never tired the House by dull harangues, and never forgot his self-respect in bitter language or undignified retort. The consequence was, he could always command attention; and his

opinions had the weight of well-considered judgments of a fair and intelligent mind.

Upon the coming into office of General Harrison, in March, 1841, an effort was made by many of the leading merchants of Boston, to have Mr. Lincoln placed at the head of the Customs in that city; and he was early commissioned as Collector of that port, in accordance with this expressed desire. He held the office till September, 1843, to the acceptance of all who had occasion to come in contact with him in the way of advice or business. They found him ever prompt, impartial, and courteous, and were ready to accord to him the qualities of a faithful, diligent, and attentive public officer. But there is little material for biography in a mere life of business. Its details would be as tiresome as the drudgery of its daily routine.

After leaving the Custom House, he engaged, with renewed pleasure, in the care and cultivation of his beautiful estate in Worcester, but served as a Senator from that county during the years 1844 and 1845. In the latter of these, he presided over that body, bringing to the place the same freshness of interest and promptness in details, that he had evinced while a member of that board more than thirty years before.

In 1848, he was appointed by the Legislature a presidential elector, and was chosen to preside over the Electoral College. And in 1864, for the third time, he was elected a member of the Electoral College, and helped to cast the vote of the State, a second time, for one who, under Providence, had carried the country through the fearful ordeal of a civil war. And no one who had met him, for the first time, on that occasion, could have imagined that the erect, cheerful, and courteous gentleman whom he then saw, had cast an electoral vote for John Quincy Adams, forty years before, when, with the mature experience of a Judge of the Supreme Court, he was called upon to execute that important trust. Indeed, Time seemed to have dealt so kindly and gently with him, that his friends forgot that he had passed the climacteric of fourscore years, when, with the

step and erectness and grace of a man in middle life, he entered the Council Chamber to perform the grateful duty committed by his fellow-citizens to his charge.

But in this we have somewhat anticipated the events of his life, which are yet to be noticed. Under the fostering influences of that policy which he had so strongly advocated, the village of Worcester, upon his entering on his public career, had, in 1848, become a city of seventeen thousand people. Mr. Lincoln was elected, that year, the first Mayor of the city, and at once entered upon the duties of organizing and conducting the affairs of this new municipality. He served for a year in that office, evincing the same exact attention to its details which he had shown in every place which he had been called to fill, and, at the same time, dignifying it by the manner in which he sustained its more imposing duties and relations. The work of giving form and consistency to a newly organized municipal government, and adapting it to the condition of a rapidly growing and thriving industry, was one requiring much thought and a constant oversight; and it was fortunate for that city that it could command the services of so faithful and capable a magistrate to meet the requirements of the occasion.

But it is doubtful if, of all the places of honor and distinction to which Governor Lincoln was called by his fellow-citizens, there was any one which he enjoyed more highly, or entered into with a keener relish and satisfaction than that of President of the Worcester County Agricultural Society. His tastes and early habits were associated with rural life. The Worcester of his boyhood was an agricultural community, and the broad acres and fine culture of his father's farm early indoctrinated him with a knowledge of the details of a farmer's life, and a taste for agriculture as a liberal pursuit. The agricultural society of the county was formed in 1818, and was one of the earliest in the State. His father was its first president, and he was himself elected to that office in 1824. He held the place by successive

elections till 1852. For many years, it was the only society in the county. Its annual cattle-show drew together the leading men, not only of the county, but, often, many from other parts of the Commonwealth. It was the great holiday of the county, when the farmer and the man of business, the scholar and the statesman, came there to do honor to the skill and pursuits of the husbandman, and to enjoy the society of the men of culture and intelligence which the occasion drew together. The central and active spirit of the association was its president, whose presence and influence were felt and witnessed in all its details. On no occasion was the profuse and elegant hospitality for which his house was always distinguished more liberally displayed than on these gatherings. On the last anniversary of this Society, Governor Bullock paid a beautiful and fitting tribute to their late President, in which he spoke of his knowledge of the science of agriculture, of his fondness for its pursuits, of his love of trees and his care for their culture and preservation, of his almost poetical fondness for flowers, and the beautiful things which make the garden so attractive to the man of refined taste; and in referring to this trait of hospitality, as exhibited on the occasion to which we have referred, he said: "His hospitality after the labors of the show-day were over, when committee-men assembled under his roof to condense in the fellowship of the evening, the somewhat diversified and perhaps somewhat incoherent lessons of the field and the press, will long be remembered by every one who shared it. The best farmers from distant towns went away with an enlarged sense of the elevation and importance of their vocation, and felt encouraged to strive more stoutly in the next year's competition."

All that was here said of his admirably managed farm, of his fine stock, of his love of the beautiful in nature and cultivation, of the rare union of taste and practical good sense in the management of his estate, was evinced through his whole life.

Of his social qualities and traits of domestic life it is hardly

within the province of such a memoir to speak at large. Before even alluding to these, it is proper to refer to the part he took in the benevolent enterprises of the day, as well as in the promotion of the interests of education, and the support of the civil institutions of the Commonwealth. He was an early advocate of the Temperance Reform, and presided over the first State Temperance Convention in the Commonwealth, at Worcester, in September, 1833, receiving a unanimous resolution of thanks of the vast body of its friends there congregated, for the very able and dignified manner in which he had performed the duties of the office. He was, for several years, President of the Worcester County Bible Society. He had an earnest and sincere conviction of his duty to God and the church, and never wavered in the respect with which he observed the offices and ministrations of religion, and bore testimony to his belief in the truths of revelation. The touching and appreciative tribute paid to his memory by the Reverend Pastor of the Church of which he was a member, on the sabbath after his interment, gives us an insight into his religious character, and can leave no doubt of the sincerity of the faith which he professed.

Although he retired from public life in 1845, and declined the place of Senator in Congress when it was offered to him in 1854, he continued to be called upon, from time to time, to serve for brief periods in responsible and important public trusts. In 1847, he was selected, from his known interest in the maintenance of an effective militia system, which he had evinced through his whole career, to serve upon a commission to revise the existing laws upon that subject, and report a system for organizing and disciplining the militia of the Commonwealth, and this he did, by an able and well-considered report, which became the basis of important legislative action. In 1854, a commission was constituted to examine into and report as to the number and condition of the Insane in the Commonwealth, to which Mr. Lincoln was ap-

pointed. And, though the principal labor of detail was performed by one of his associates, his aid in completing the work, and in preparing an able and satisfactory statement of its results, was of great value and importance.

His interest in the cause of learning and education was manifested in various ways, and upon all suitable occasions. It was seen in his public messages and addresses, as well as his personal services in connection with the institutions of learning. The committee of the House, to whom the *first* report of the Board of Education, made in 1838, was committed, thus speak of what he had done towards inaugurating the scheme of Normal schools, to which reference has already been made. "The friends of universal education have long looked to the Legislature for the establishment of one or more seminaries devoted to the purpose of supplying qualified teachers for the town and district schools, by whose action, alone, other judicious provisions of law could be carried into full effect. At various times the deliberation of both branches of the General Court has been bestowed upon this, among other subjects, most intimately relating to the benefit of the rising generation and all generations to come after us, particularly when the provision for instruction of school-teachers was specially urged upon their consideration in 1827, by the message of the Governor; and a report thereupon, accompanied by a bill, was submitted by the chairman, following out, to their fair conclusions, the suggestion of the Executive." So that, whatever may have been the services of others afterwards, it was proper that this tribute to the part thus early taken in the matter by Governor Lincoln, should be repeated in this connection. He was, for many years, a member and President of the Board of Trustees of that venerable institution, Leicester Academy, which was founded in 1784, and of which his father had been a member and its president, as early as the year 1800. He was always a staunch and active friend and patron of Harvard College, his Alma Mater, and, for many years, a member of

her Board of Overseers. In return, he was honored by more than one of the Colleges of the Commonwealth, with gratifying expressions of respect for his public services, and his private worth. In 1824, the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Williams College, and a like honor was bestowed by Harvard College in 1826. He was one of the founders of the American Antiquarian Society, and its Senior Vice-President at the time of his death. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1859. In the success of both these associations, he took a lively interest; and yet he made no particular pretensions to the character of a scholar or a man of science. His life had been eminently one of action; and the various positions of professional and political service, which he was called to fill, left little leisure for the pursuits of literature or scholarship. His knowledge, however, was varied and extensive; and his taste had been improved by a constant association with men of culture and refinement. He made no pretensions to what he did not feel that he had a right to claim. Beyond his public and official addresses and messages, he has left little that was published. Much of that which he did leave, related to matters of local interest. Of his Executive Messages, it may be said, without reserve, that they show a thorough knowledge of the subjects of which they treat. They are full, clear, and direct; and, if their style may sometimes be regarded as diffuse, it is to be ascribed to that ready command of apt and expressive forms of speech which characterized all his public performances. He addressed a letter to his successor, upon his retiring from the Executive chair, which was published by order of the Senate, in which he briefly reviews the principal transactions with which his administration of the office had been connected, many of which have not been even alluded to in these pages, in speaking of that period of his life: such as the revision, collation, and arrangement of the colonial and provincial and general statutes; the trigonometrical survey of the Commonwealth; the publication

of the geological report of the features, natural scenery, and character of the country; the gratifying improvements in the condition of the State Prison, the progress and condition of the Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, with other less important measures. In closing, he adds, and we quote it as an illustration of the sentiment of the man, and the style of the writer: "Grateful to my fellow-citizens, in a depth of feeling which I have no language to express, for the many repeated and unmerited honors which they have conferred upon me, I go now to the retirement of private life, to manifest, by the only means in my power, my sense of obligation in the discharge of the more humble but not less imperative duties of a faithful citizen, giving his vote and his influence, whatever it may be, to uphold the glorious fabric of free government, to preserve the Union of these States, and to strengthen and confirm for an inheritance to the latest generation, the institutions of piety and learning, humanity and benevolence, which are the boast of the present age, and so pre-eminently the enjoyment of our own prosperous and happy Commonwealth." It is hardly necessary to add, that this pledge thus solemnly and affectionately given, was most faithfully kept to the last. He stood as calmly and as firmly in his fidelity to the Union and respect for the Constitution and the law, during the darkest hour of the Rebellion, as in the most prosperous days of the republic, and was as true to his loyalty.

Among the publications of Mr. Lincoln which remain, was an address delivered by him at the consecration of the Worcester Rural Cemetery, in 1838. It shows learning, fine taste, pure and elevated sentiment, and was associated as a work of consecration, with the spot in which so many of his hearers were to repose, at last, together. "I pause here," are its words, "in thoughtful contemplation. We stand, this day, upon the virgin soil of this fair field, with which no crumbling clay of humanity ever yet has mingled. To-morrow it may be ours to inhabit it. Henceforth, when we here

assemble, it will be in silence and in tears, to commit the remains of some loved one to the dust, over which we have trodden ; and again and again shall the grave be opened, until, one after another, *all* shall be gathered to their mother earth." It was, indeed, his commission to see these eloquent words made history of most of the vast assembly who had gathered upon the yet unbroken soil of that beautiful receptacle of the dead, and beneath that autumn sky, within the thirty years which were yet to be added to his already mature life, before it was to become his own resting-place.

Of his speeches in Congress, only two are now before us. Of one of these we have already spoken. The other is a bold and manly defence of Mr. Adams against the attempt which was made to censure him in Congress, for even proposing to the Speaker the question, how far a petition, purporting to come from slaves, would fall within the rule of the House in respect to the vexed question of the right of petition ? The subject has indeed lost much of its importance in the progress of events. But the circumstance has still a personal significance and interest, from the promptness and power with which Mr. Lincoln threw himself into the conflict, and the readiness he evinced to maintain the right of petition, and vindicate the conduct and character of the North.

His last public speech was made while presiding at an immense gathering of the people, in Faneuil Hall, in December, 1859, on which occasion Mr. Everett also made an eloquent address. Though he had been so long withdrawn from a participation in popular meetings, he stood before the multitude which crowded that hall, with all the grace and dignity which had marked his best efforts in middle life, and showed himself the same earnest and eloquent advocate for what he thought was right, that he had ever been. And he found in return as hearty a response, in the applause of those who listened to him, as he had ever received when he led in the councils of the State.

It is not within the plan of this memoir to dwell upon the local published addresses or reports which occasionally called for the exercise of his voice or pen, though we ought not to pass to what relates more immediately to the personal relations of private life, without a word or two upon what entered so much into his success as a public man, his manner as a citizen and his eloquence as a popular debater. His manner in his intercourse with others was easy, graceful, and dignified, though, at times, it partook somewhat of the stately. He was always self-possessed, and, in private, was free, social, and often playful. He had nothing of austerity in his constitution, and no one could enter more readily into the pleasant humor of others. Nor was he capable of doing a rude or ungentlemanly act from carelessness, bad temper, or want of familiarity with good breeding. His form was erect, his step firm and elastic, and all his movements were graceful. His bearing was that of a gentleman of the old school, and he never was betrayed into language or conduct unbecoming one of that class. Manners like these, with a good figure, fine voice, and graceful action, gave force and effect to his efforts as an advocate and an orator. He had clear and decided views upon the subjects in which he engaged, and these he enforced with an earnestness and sincerity, which hardly ever failed to command a lively interest in those to whom they were addressed. His ready fluency and command of fit and choice language to which we have alluded, were rarely excelled. He never hesitated for a word, and the right one always seemed to come at his bidding. He aimed to be master of his subject, and rarely, if ever, failed to make himself understood. One pleasure in listening to him was the assurance which every one felt, that he was adequate to the occasion, and that the cause he advocated would not suffer in his hands. He was, as we have said, earnest in his manner, and sometimes impassioned; but he never violated the laws of courtesy in debate, nor descended to harshness of epithet, or rudeness in language, or an unbecom-

ing retort upon an adversary. With these advantages in his favor, he was able to grapple with great and important subjects ; and if he failed to reach the highest flights of eloquence, he had few superiors at the bar, or in the popular assembly, as an effective advocate and orator. Nor should the unselfish fidelity with which he stood by a friend to the last be forgotten. He was, withal, a man of business and detail. He managed his private affairs with judgment and skill, and gave to them his personal care and attention. Through life he maintained such a course of dealing with others, that his word was always as good as his bond. There was nothing stingy or contracted in his economy, or habits of thrift. He was generous in his benefactions, ever ready to respond to the calls of beneficence ; and in his style of living and the character of his hospitality he evinced the generous spirit and refined taste which characterized all his social intercourse. His house was the pleasant resort of strangers, while its doors were ever open to his friends and his townsmen, to welcome them to the graceful hospitalities which it supplied. Much of this was due to the congenial tastes and views of his wife, who was a fit associate and companion for one who enjoyed so highly the comforts and elegances of a well-ordered home. She was a daughter of William Sever, Esq., of Kingston, a well-known family in the old Colony, and might trace back her lineage to the Winslows and Warrens of the "Mayflower." She yet survives him, sharing largely in the respect and esteem of a wide circle of appreciative friends. Three of their sons and a daughter also survive him. One son had fallen in the lifetime of the father, while gallantly leading a charge in the Battle of Buena Vista, in the war with Mexico.

It is rare that a public man who has once left the stage of action, after having filled a part as important as that which had signalized the life of Governor Lincoln, has either occasion or opportunity to illustrate, in fact, how much he retains of the spirit and capacity which may have characterized the period of

mature and vigorous manhood. But, in his case, the war of the Rebellion aroused within him all the zeal and patriotic ardor which he had felt in the flush of early manhood. And, what was equally marked, it seemed to inspire in him an equal vigor of body. He spoke and acted at the age of fourscore, as if he had the stake of a young man's life in the honor of his country, and the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. He never lost heart, nor suffered himself to doubt the ultimate triumph of the government, and did much to animate young men to fill the ranks of the army and fight under the flag of the republic. A son did efficient service at the head of a regiment, and was permanently disabled by wounds received in battle. Two grandsons, also, did credit to their parentage in the same service. His zeal and efforts in the cause ceased only with the war, and his words of cheer and encouragement will long be remembered by those who listened to them through the long and dreary period of our civil war. Active, self-reliant, and self-sustained through this exciting period, the time came at last, when the powers of a fine constitution and an ardent temperament gave way before the insidious approaches of a fatal disease. A few months before his death he suffered a slight attack of paralysis. But it was the precursor of the approach of the brief but final sickness which closed his busy, useful, and honored life. He died on the 29th of May, 1868.

His decease was the occasion for expressions of respect for his memory, and of sympathy for the family, from the press, the highest officials of the Commonwealth, and the numerous associations with which he then was or had been connected. A public official order issued by the Governor, recognized, in fitting and appropriate terms, "the dignity and grace of his long life closing in the veneration and esteem of all." The Legislature, then in session, commemorated the event by proceedings indicating their respect for his private worth and public services. The same was done by the City Council of Wor-

cester, by the Judges and Bar of the Supreme Judicial Court, then sitting at Worcester, by the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Directors of the Worcester National Bank, the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, and the Hingham and Worcester County Agricultural Societies.

The funeral solemnities, at his burial, were at once touching and imposing. The whole city was moved; and the citizens of the neighboring towns gathered along the sidewalks of its streets, or joined in the long procession that followed his remains from his late dwelling-house to the church, and from the church to the rural cemetery, in whose consecration he had taken a part. Business was suspended, and its places closed. An imposing *cortège* attended the body on its transit to its final resting-place, consisting of the Governor and his Council, Committees of the two Houses of the Legislature, the Independent Corps of Cadets, with their band playing a solemn dirge, together with numerous distinguished citizens from other parts of the Commonwealth, and citizens of Worcester. One feeling seemed to pervade the masses of the people, that the Commonwealth had lost one of her most honored and distinguished sons, whose life had long been identified with her history, the city of his home had lost a citizen loved and respected by all, and every one who had known him, a wise counsellor and a faithful friend. Deeply interesting services were held in the church where he was accustomed to worship, in which the Rev. Drs. Hill and Ellis took parts, and spoke of the deceased as only those who had known him intimately could have done, to those who crowded the edifice. And thus he died and was buried, the last, we believe, of that list of great and distinguished men, whose lives were associated with one of the most interesting and brilliant periods of Massachusetts History. Webster, John Davis, Choate, Everett, John Quincy Adams, Chief-Justice Shaw, Quincy, and now Lincoln, had all been contemporary, and present a collection of names never surpassed and rarely equalled in dignity, power, and influence, in a Commonwealth

whose pride and glory have been her sons. Extended as this memoir may seem to be, in justice to the subject it should be added, that it is necessarily unsatisfactory and incomplete, and, as such, must claim the indulgence which is due to the brief space which, at best, can be allowed to it, in the transactions of the Society under whose auspices it has been prepared.

MAY MEETING.

A stated meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, 13th May, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Cabinet-keeper reported the following gifts to the Cabinet; namely:—

A framed photograph of the College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, Va., on the back of which was this inscription: "Designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and finished in 1703, destroyed by fire in 1705, rebuilt in 1723, destroyed by fire in 1859, rebuilt in 1860, destroyed in 1862; rebuilding commenced in 1868; presented by Benjamin Stoddert Ewell, now President of the College":

Also, a copy of a pen-and-ink sketch of General Washington, by one of the guests, taken while he sat at a dinner-table:

Also, a medallion likeness of our Corresponding Member, John Gough Nichols, and his wife, Lucy (Lewis) Nichols, taken to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of their marriage,—presented by Mr. Nichols himself, who sent at the same time a number of valuable books for the Library:

Also, a *fac-simile* of Paul Revere's picture of Boston, taken one hundred years ago,—a gift of A. L. Sewell and John E. Miller, publishers, Chicago.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for these valuable gifts.

The President read a letter from M. Jules Marcou, of Paris, enclosing a letter from M. Jules Desnoyers, the Secretary of the "Société de l'Histoire de France"; promising a valuable addition to our Library from the Historical Society of France, and from their Secretary.

Dr. GREEN called attention to the first volume of the manu-

script records of the "New North Church," which had been presented to the Society by the Rev. Mr. Alger, and said that this volume would be followed by the remaining volumes of the records in Mr. Alger's possession.

Dr. ELLIS presented a copy of "The Speeches of His Excellency Governor Hutchinson, to the General Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay," &c., Boston, 1773.

The President read the following letter:—

To the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SIR,—The Medal and Ribbons received by the late Dr. W. T. G. Morton from the French Government, &c., together with letters from your late associate, my brother, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, urging Dr. Morton to place them with the Historical Society, are now in the possession of the widow of Dr. Morton. She deems them too valuable to be kept except by some public institution. A secure case with a glass front, so that the chief articles can be seen safely by the public, has been prepared.

Mrs. Morton wishes to deposit them with your Society, provided they can be kept for ever as a memorial of the labors of her husband, and provided, moreover, they can be placed in such a position in the hall of your Society as to be visible to all who examine the various objects of historical interest collected there.

I remain very respectfully yours,

HENRY I. BOWDITCH.

MAY 6th, 1869.

Whereupon, it was—

Voted, That the Society will gratefully receive the memorial referred to in the letter of Dr. Bowditch, and that the President communicate this vote of the Society to him.

The President called attention to the sketch of Hannah Adams, by Chester Harding, the original of the portrait by this artist, placed on exhibition in the rooms of the Society by its owner.

Mr. J. C. GRAY submitted the following remarks on the discipline and mode of instruction in Cornell University, at Ithaca, N.Y., as compared with the same in Harvard University:—

The condition and prospects of the Cornell University at Ithaca, N.Y., having lately been the subjects of much public comment, and many comparisons having been made between this institution and Harvard University, the writer submits a few remarks on the question how far it is practicable or desirable so to change the system of education and discipline pursued in the Academic Department of Harvard University, as to render that institution similar to Cornell University at Ithaca, N.Y. In some particulars, such a change would be so manifestly impracticable, that it is useless to inquire whether it would be desirable or otherwise.

1. As to the comparative expense of students at the two institutions.

The average expense annually of a student at Cornell University, may be estimated at \$400. In this estimate is included a moderate allowance for clothing, and it is supposed that during vacation the student boards and lodges free of expense, in his parents' house or elsewhere. The average annual expense is estimated in the official circular (Cornell), at about \$275, exclusive of the items last referred to.

The whole annual expense of an undergraduate at Cambridge cannot be estimated at less than \$800. The greater portion of the difference of \$400 must be ascribed to the local position of Harvard College, which, of course, must be deemed unalterable. It may be therefore affirmed, that to reduce the expenses of a student at Harvard to an equality with those of one at Cornell University, or to an approximation thereto, must be considered absolutely impracticable.

2. Terms of admission. Higher terms of admission are exacted for entrance into the Classical Department of Cornell University than into any other department, but the classical proficiency required at this University is materially lower than at Harvard or Yale. It would certainly be in the power of the Government at either of those colleges, to reduce the terms of admission. But there is no evidence whatever of a

desire on the part of either of those bodies to do so, or of the wish of the public that such a retrograde course should be adopted.

3. One of the most important differences between Cornell and Harvard Universities is, that in the former the several branches of scientific and literary instruction, form one institution, under the care of the same officers of instruction and government, who, as far as appears, form one body. At Cambridge, the Scientific Schools (using the word "scientific" generally) are in fact separate institutions, and not connected with the Academic Department, except that the President of the College stands at the head of each Faculty. The textbooks of the Medical and Divinity Colleges are generally, it is believed, different from those of the Academic Department. Many of the studies of the Lawrence and the Mining School are pursued, in some degree, by the undergraduates; such, for instance, as Mathematics and Geometry. It may surprise some to hear, that almost every branch of knowledge proposed to be taught in Cornell University, is well taught at Cambridge, either in the Academic Department or the Scientific School, or, in some cases, in both. It is far from certain, in the writer's opinion, that such connection as does exist at Cambridge between the several Scientific Schools and the College proper, is of advantage to either side, and that all parties might not have prospered as well if all the schools had been located in Boston, leaving the Academic Department by itself at Cambridge. But this question is no longer an open one.

4. In the Cornell University, it is proposed to carry the optional system to the fullest extent. In Cambridge, a very large though not unlimited option is allowed after the Freshman year, and the student, more especially, is allowed to relinquish both the classics and the mathematics; this certainly is an important concession to the advocates of a voluntary system. It is yet to be seen whether the Government of Harvard have not gone quite far enough on what may be called the liberal side.

The better way seems to be to subject the present arrangement to the test of experiment, for a few years at least, without a change in any direction.

It will appear from the Report on the Organization of Cornell University, that the objects for which it is founded are materially different from those pursued by undergraduates at Harvard, Yale, and the other leading colleges in New England.

The Faculty at the Cornell University, propose, in the main, to educate pupils directly for some one of the occupations of practical life. No college in New England professes to do this, whatever facilities may be offered at Scientific Schools connected with such college. The object of a studious undergraduate at Harvard or Yale, for example, is to gain a good general education, which may, perhaps, include some knowledge of many sciences of the most practical kind, but which is mainly calculated to invigorate, refine, and inform the mind generally, and thus prepare a foundation deep and broad, for the special pursuit of any important branch of industry.

Each description of seminary may be useful in its way. The Cornell University is as yet an experiment. If a successful one, it by no means follows that the system pursued in our college should be abandoned. In that system, the study of the classics yet holds a prominent place, but at Cambridge, at least, the pursuit of that study is optional after the first year. It is certainly possible to exclude it altogether; but in so doing, to say nothing of the opinion of many intelligent men in all parts of our country, or of the patronage which our colleges are now receiving, we should differ widely in opinion from the Government of Cornell University, who have in decided terms recognized the high importance of classical studies, and made provision for the teaching of them. Abused as our collegiate system has been (and probably always will be), the people of New England will hardly agree to the assertion lately put forth with great seeming confidence, that we find "scholars stepping out of the highest scholastic positions in college, into nonentity

in after-life." To speak of Harvard only, as the College best known to the writer, we find that H. G. Otis, John Quincy Adams, W. E. Channing, W. P. Preble, and Edward Everett were among the very best scholars of their respective classes ; and a large number of names, selected from the living as well as the dead, might be added to the list. Why any radical changes should be made at once in our system of education at Harvard, the writer is at a loss to know, though far from maintaining that there is no room for improvement. Still, there are some suggestions in the Cornell Report which deserve the serious consideration of the Faculty of Harvard and other colleges. This may be said especially of the remarks on Dormitories. The Report on the Cornell University is decidedly against the whole system of dormitories, except as a temporary expedient. It states what was once true of some of our largest colleges, if not so now, that "no private citizen who lets rooms in his own house, to four or six students, would tolerate for an hour the anarchy which most tutors in college dormitories are compelled to overlook."

Still it appears that, at Ithaca, large dormitories have been erected from obvious considerations of economy and convenience. For the same reasons, those at Cambridge cannot now be dispensed with. But the Corporation may well consider the expediency, if dormitories must be erected in future, of making them of a much smaller size, and more resembling in other points respectable private houses. Parietal discipline could certainly be much better enforced in such moderately sized lodging houses. The dormitory system has been carried out fully in English Universities by the construction of large quadrangles, with gates closed at night. What enormities are sometimes perpetrated within those quadrangles may be seen by referring to Bristed's "Five Years in an English University."

The truth is, that if we expect to collect together from five hundred to one thousand young men, mostly minors, and to

rely wholly or mainly on their sense of propriety for the preservation of good order, we shall soon learn the true value of such an expectation. Whatever may be said in favor of the character of college students generally (and much may be so said), there will always be several in respect to whom a mere appeal to their sense of propriety would be unavailing, not to say ridiculous. President Walker remarks, in his Inaugural Address, that one-fourth of those who enter college, would be better anywhere else, and this at any rate is altogether a reasonable supposition. While we have large numbers collected in large dormitories, parietal discipline, and that of a rigid kind, must be kept up, however disagreeable both to officers and students.

The writer adds a few remarks on some points presented in a late Report to the Overseers of Harvard College. First, as to the compensation of instructors. If these officers are to be what they should be, or even (generally speaking) what they have been, the salaries paid at present are any thing but extravagant. The report speaks (p. 35) of the last addition to the term fees, to be paid by the student, of \$45 annually, as not exorbitant, and this is within the truth. A further addition of \$50 would yield from \$20,000 to \$25,000 annually. Each of the undergraduates would thus pay for instruction about \$200 annually, that is, no more than the price paid at several private schools in Boston, and not more than six per cent would be added to the whole annual expenses of an undergraduate at Cambridge, which cannot be fairly stated at less than \$800. A Faculty composed of instructors of the highest order, would form a body, the best calculated of all others, to carry on any existing system to the best advantage, or to suggest any changes therein. To fill well the offices of our College Government, as opportunity offers, is, indeed, the highest and most delicate duty of the Corporation and Overseers, and they ought to be enabled to offer every reasonable inducement to competent candidates, and all reasonable expenses thus incurred,

should be defrayed by reasonable charges on the students, and the addition thus suggested is believed to be clearly of that character.

2. As to *Recitations*, the Report to the Overseers contains some valuable suggestions. Extempore recitations are very incomplete tests of proficiency. A good memory, a natural fluency, and even a confident and imposing manner, have often done much to conceal a want of thoroughness and accuracy. Written examinations at stated intervals furnish, of the two, a far better means of ascertaining scholarship. Still it is far from advisable to dispense altogether with daily recitations, or to allow them no weight at all, in determining a scholar's rank. Many young students, and some older ones, require a more frequent stimulus than is furnished by periodical examinations, and a perspicuous and accurate recitation by a student is often beneficial not only to himself, but to his classmates who listen to him.

But after all, one general consideration, already referred to, can be hardly too much borne in mind. The chief source whence real improvements should be expected is a faithful and competent Faculty. It is, or ought to be, the duty of every instructor, not merely to carry on class after class in a beaten track, and sit and hear recitations which prove little as to the student's faculties and scholarship, except that he has a good memory. Such a course might answer, or at any rate was made to answer, in the early part of the present century. But New-England teachers, and of course New-England scholarship, were very different then from what they now are. For half a century previous to 1810, scarcely any change was made in the requisites for admission, or the course of study at Cambridge, and it may be safely said that many a scholar gained the highest honors with less scholarship, either in science or literature, than is now required for admission to the Freshman Class. It is now to be expected that the Faculty should perceive and suggest all necessary improvements, and it is not to be doubted

that their suggestions will be duly estimated by Corporation and Overseers.

NOTE. — As the Cornell University is scarcely yet in full operation, there is much in its course of instruction and discipline which has not yet been definitely arranged. Nothing has yet been said, so far at least as is known to the writer, as to the manner in which the classes shall be arranged. It is difficult to conceive how public instruction can be carried on without some such arrangement. But whether there shall be four classes as in most of our colleges, or three, as in many of our scientific schools, or what other arrangement of the kind shall be adopted, — these questions as well as others of great importance, are, doubtless, receiving a due consideration from the learned Faculty.

Mr. William Sumner Appleton, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and M. Jules Marcou, of Paris, France, a Corresponding Member.

The President presented a sheet of paper, containing, in an early hand, a draft of some instructions intended for the agents of Massachusetts, selected to represent the Colony in England. The paper bears no date, but it was written after the receipt of his Majesty's letter of the 24th of July, 1679, to which it evidently refers, and for which see Hutchinson's "Collection of Papers," pp. 519-522.

If anything be objected ag^t haveing our Pattent here, & that it ought to lye in England & the Governm^t managed here by Deputation, as it hath sometimes been hinted, yo^e shall answer: that is wholly inconsistant wth the designe of the undertakers in settling these remote pts of the world under his Ma^{ty} who intended, as to demonstrate their dependance on the Crowne of England, so their ready & constant conformity to the Charter graciously granted to them, to wch end they brought it wth them w^{thout} any obstruction from his ma^{ties} p^{re}decessors, & we hope may be continued here w^{thout} the least offense to his ma^{ty}: who hath we conceive for the like reason been pleased lately to grant, & send over, (or suffered to be brought over) Pattents of the same tenour to other Colonyes here.

As to the delivering up the Province of Maine, purchased of m^r Gorges, yo^e shall humbly beg his ma^{ties} pardon, If anything acted in that matter were irregular, or offensive; it was not att all foreseen or thought by our late Agents or our Selves. They did wth all diligence

enquire of the learned in the Law, who gave their opinion that it might lawfully be done. neither had our agents any thoughts of his ma^{ty} intention of takeing of it into his own hand: But m^r Mason haveing obtained what was formerly belonging unto us, & from whome we had necessary supplies of many things; we thought some releife might be to us by this Purchase. And is of so great importance, that we hope his Ma^{ty} favor in continueing the Same to us, w^h hath cost us so deare formerly & lately, beside what m^r Gorges had. And we doubt not but to give his Ma^{ty} an Acct of our managm^t of the Governm^t there to satisfaction, conformally to the gracious grant to sd m^r Gorges.

We suppose we have in the p^rceding Articles fully instructed yo^a in all things intimated by his ma^{ty}, or intended as to regulation of our Governm^t & managm^t of affairs here. But if any other thing be propounded w^h we cannott foresee or provide for, yo^a shall humbly pray yo^a may have time to signify his ma^{ty} pleasure to us, & receive our direction therein, before yo^a give any answer or consent there to.

Mr. DAVIS announced the Memoir of the late Isaac P. Davis, which he had been appointed to prepare for the Society's "Proceedings."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
ISAAC P. DAVIS.

BY GEORGE T. DAVIS.

MR. DAVIS was born in Plymouth, Mass., Oct. 7, 1771. His father, Thomas Davis, born in Albany, N.Y., in 1722, passed a portion of his earlier life in North Carolina, came to Plymouth as early as 1742, and died in 1785, leaving a competent estate gained in navigation and in mercantile pursuits. The father of Thomas Davis is believed to have been born in England. The mother was a Miss Wendell, of Albany. Thomas Davis, in 1753, married Mercy Hedge of Plymouth, whose ancestry is traced to Elder Brewster, Governor Bradford, and others of the earliest Pilgrims. The issue of this marriage was as follows : —

SARAH,	born	1754,	died	1821.
THOMAS,	"	1756,	"	1805.
WILLIAM,	"	1758,	"	1826.
JOHN,	"	1759,	"	1847.
SAMUEL,	"	1765,	"	1829.
ISAAC P.,	"	1771,	"	1855.
WENDELL,	"	1776,	"	1830.

Of these brothers, a writer who knew them well has said, —

"There were six brothers in the family, all of whom held offices of public trust under the State and United-States Governments, with the





J. P. Davis
[Signature]

exception of one only; they have all passed away, and their memory held in high regard and honor, particularly the late Thomas Davis, a former treasurer of this Commonwealth, and the late Judge Davis, so well known as the learned and upright Judge of the United States District Court.

"William, another of the brothers, was extensively engaged in his native town of Plymouth in mercantile pursuits; and was much regarded for his general knowledge, intelligence, and probity. He was frequently chosen a representative in the State Legislature. Samuel, another of the brothers, was a man of retiring habits and a most modest demeanor, very curious in antiquarian and genealogical research, and dealt largely in the chronicles of former times. It was always perfectly safe to quote him in matters of fact. Wendell, the youngest brother, a graduate of Cambridge, became a member of the Senate of this State at a time when political excitement ran very high; he was esteemed a ready and sharp debater, and distinguished himself by his apt rejoinders to his opponents; he afterwards held the office of sheriff of the county of Barnstable."

The subject of this sketch commenced business in Boston in the latter part of the last century as a rope-maker, having a considerable manufacturing establishment, and extensive transactions with the Government and with the leading merchants of that time. Some of his largest contracts with the Government were for supplies of cordage to the navy at the time of the threatened war with France, in 1798. He had large dealings with William and Eben Parsons, with J. & T. H. Perkins, and other great ship-owners, and retained their cordial friendship to the last. After some years of prosperous business, he sustained losses by fire and by adverse legislation, which reduced him to comparative poverty, but did not affect the genial and loyal qualities and the fine tastes which to the close of his life made his friendship desired and prized.

Mr. Davis married, June 2, 1807, Susan, daughter of Dr. David Jackson, a distinguished physician of Philadelphia. This lady, who, in addition to great personal beauty, possessed the highest qualities of mind and heart, survived him, dying March 30, 1867, at the age of eighty-two. The children of this mar-

riage were — Thomas Kemper Davis, born June 20, 1808, and died Oct. 18, 1853; and George Cabot Davis, born Jan. 30, 1812, and died June 20, 1833. Thomas K. Davis, graduated at Harvard College in 1827, first scholar of his class, and was also class orator. He had fine scholarship and brilliant powers, but long before his death was withdrawn by disease from the pursuits of active life.

Mr. Davis became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1830, was elected its Cabinet-keeper in 1833, and so continued till his death.

In 1841, he received the appointment of Naval Officer for the port of Boston, and retained it till 1845. For this appointment he was principally indebted to the friendship of Mr. Webster; a friendship which found further expression in the subjoined dedication of the second volume of Mr. Webster's works:—

TO ISAAC P. DAVIS, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — A warm private friendship has subsisted between us for half our lives, interrupted by no untoward occurrence, and never for a moment cooling into indifference. Of this friendship, the source of so much happiness to me, I wish to leave if not an enduring memorial, at least an affectionate and grateful acknowledgment.

I inscribe this volume of my speeches to you.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

At the time of his death, Mr. Davis was one of three surviving original members of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, — an institution with which he had been connected for sixty years.

He was a trustee of the Boston Athenæum from 1830 to 1845.

Mr. Davis died after an illness of some weeks' duration, January 13, 1855.

The above is merely an outline of the life of a man who for nearly two generations filled a large social place, and is still remembered with unusual affection by the narrowing circle of

surviving friends. His personal qualities have been well portrayed by one of his nearest friends* in a sketch written just after his death, but not hitherto published, and which I am permitted to use.

Mr. Winthrop says, —

“ Few persons will be more missed from the daily walks of life than this esteemed and venerated gentleman. Though he had reached the advanced age of eighty-three years, he had retained a full measure of his characteristic activity of mind and body until a very recent period, and but a few weeks had elapsed since he was to be found at his customary haunts on the Exchange. Everybody was glad to meet him there, for he had a kind word for everybody. Nor did he confine himself to kind words. If an obliging act was within his power, he was always sure to do it. One was in danger of forgetting that he was no longer young, so ready and eager was he to anticipate the wishes of a friend in rendering any service that could be suggested. Indeed, he knew little of old age, except from the experience it had brought him; his heart was always young, and his interest in the daily current of events lost nothing of its freshness to the end of his life. He was eminently a man of ‘cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows.’

‘A man of hope, and forward-looking mind,
Even to the last.’

Yet he did not forget that he had passed the allotted term of human life, and was not unmindful of the great account which was soon to be rendered.

“ Mr. Davis entered life with slight advantages of fortune, but it would be difficult to name a man who had been happier in his social relations. Beyond any one of his time he had enjoyed the friendship and intimacy of our most distinguished men. He was on terms of familiar intercourse successively with Fisher Ames and George Cabot, with John Quincy Adams, Josiah Quincy, Harrison Gray Otis, and Daniel Webster. Nor was his acquaintance limited to those of our own neighborhood. Strangers of distinction were rarely without a letter to Mr. Davis, and were always sure of receiving from him the kindest attention, and of being introduced by him to the most agreeable hospitalities. His memory was thus stored with personal anecdotes and pleasant reminiscences of many of the most interesting characters in our more

* Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

recent history, and he was rarely without agreeable occasions of relating them. He took an early and active interest in the encouragement of American art. He was the friend of Stuart and Allston and Sully, of Greenough and Powers and Clevenger; and not a few young artists of less celebrity have owed to him the earliest opportunities of exercising their profession. Though not wealthy himself, he knew how to bring deserving merit to the notice of those that were, and many an order for a bust or a portrait which has brought hope, and perhaps bread, to some discouraged and destitute artist, has had its origin in his thoughtful and timely suggestions.

"Mr. Davis, like his venerated brother, the late Mr. Justice Davis, had a passion for every thing of an historical or antiquarian character. Born in Plymouth, he was never tired of visiting the Rock, and of exploring the footsteps of those who first trod it. Indeed, whatever related to American History, Colonial or Revolutionary, he was eager to hear and see and understand; and, though neither a student nor a writer himself, he often helped those who were writers or students to facts, or anecdotes, or papers, or memorials, which might have been looked for in vain anywhere else. His service to the Massachusetts Historical Society, as one of their most attentive members, and as their Cabinet-keeper for a long course of years, will doubtless secure for him the customary tribute in their 'Proceedings,' as they have secured for him the cordial regard and esteem of all his associates. Mr. Davis was repeatedly one of the representatives of Boston in the State Legislature, and for several years he held the post of Naval Officer in the Boston Custom House. But he sought no distinction in public life. His disposition was for the social circle, where his tastes and his temper eminently qualified him to shine. His genial good-nature, his benevolent spirit, his peculiar faculty of gathering up whatever was most interesting or agreeable to those with whom he was associated, his quick appreciation of whatever was curious or novel, his kind, cordial, cheerful manners, — all conspired to make him the selected and solicited guest of every company, and the welcome visitor of every household.

"His long life was not unclouded by afflictions. He was called to bear blows which would have broken any less buoyant spirit than his own. Two sons — his only children — who had given the best promise of success in their respective professions; one of them second to no one of his age in early scholarship — were cut off before him. But with the aid of an affectionate and devoted wife, he bore up bravely beneath these bitter disappointments, and was soon the same cheerful

old man ; — happy, at least, in making others happy. Sinking at last, under no very protracted disease, he has left a memory which will be cherished in many hearts, as that of a tried, trusty, affectionate friend, whom all would have gladly held back yet longer from the grave, to cheer and brighten the pathway of life."

To the above just and discriminating portraiture, I will only add some lines upon the same subject, which appeared in print soon after his death, and which are understood to be from the pen of Hon. George Lunt.

I. P. D.

Ah, kind and good old man !
Whose life, a golden chain
Of links, still brightening, ran
Through more than fourscore years,
In long-descending train, —
Ripened by sun and rain,
So the full shock should garnered be, and vain
Were our superfluous tears.

Yet, though we may not grieve
For him, who waited but the Master's call,
How oft, at morn, and noon, and social eve,
By genial board, or in the festal hall,
Shall busy fancy weave
Sweet, sad memorials of thy decent form,
Who knew life's sunny hours, and felt its storm,
Saw human nature's every side, and still
Who thought and spoke no ill ?

The cordial grasp of an unsullied hand,
The cheerful aspect and the beaming eye ;
Those silvery locks that crowned a forehead bland
With human sympathy ;
The feeling heart, quick thought and earnest mind,
The true, soft accents from thy lips that fell, —
Where shall we look to find
In soul so gentle left behind ?
Dear, kind old man, farewell !

JUNE MEETING.

The stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, 10th of June, by invitation of the President, with the concurrence of the Standing Committee, at his house in Brookline, at half-past four o'clock, P.M.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian announced the gifts to the Library the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Rev. Edmund de Pressensé, of Paris.

The President then spoke as follows:—

You will not expect from me, gentlemen, any formal words of welcome on this occasion; but I cannot omit to remind you that meetings of this kind have repeatedly been held in former years, and I hope this may not be the last of them. We had a most memorable meeting at the house of our lamented associate, George Livermore, in Cambridge, on the 26th of June, 1856. It would not be difficult to trace to that meeting the inspiration which resulted, soon afterwards, in our possession of the Dowse Library; and I believe Mr. Deane has so traced it in the Memoir* of his friend, which forms so interesting a feature of our new volume of "Proceedings." During the summer of 1858, we held two such meetings; one of them at the historic residence of Longfellow at Cambridge, and the other at the charming cottage of the late Frederic Tudor at Nahant. Not a few of those who were present on those occasions are no more; but others have succeeded to their places, as still others will succeed to ours; and I trust that an occasional social meeting in the country will long be something more than a tradition in our annals.

* See the Memoir as separately printed, at pages 45-47.

We are here, to-day, at what was known to the settlers of Massachusetts by the repulsive name of "Muddy River," and of which the first historical account is thus given by Governor Winthrop in his journal:—

"August 30, 1632. — Notice being given of ten Sagamores and many Indians assembled at Muddy River, the Governor sent Captain Underhill with twenty musketeers, to discover, &c.; but at Roxbury they heard they were broke up."

I will not take up your time in dwelling on the old associations of the place; but will content myself with reminding you that a succinct and excellent account of this locality is to be found, where so many other good things are also to be found, in our own "Historical Collections." In the second volume of the second series, printed in 1814, may be read an historical sketch of Brookline, "extracted from a discourse delivered there on the 24th of November, 1805, the day which completed a century from the incorporation of the town," by one whom so many of us remember with respect and affection, the genial, warm-hearted, and excellent Dr. John Pierce, "the fifth minister of Brookline," and a most active and valuable member of our Society.

In turning over the pages of that sketch, which, among other matters, contains a list of those who had been educated at Harvard University from Brookline, I observed but one name which I knew to be the name of a living man, and of which the notice is as follows:—

"Thomas Aspinwall, A.M., son of the Hon. William Aspinwall, Esq. For several years he was a lawyer in Boston. He is now a colonel in the United-States Army."

I need not say that this is our honored first Vice-President, of whom the description was true in 1814, when the sketch was revised for our "Collections," but of whom more might be said now than it would be quite fair to say before his face. I am sure we all feel that in having him here with us this afternoon, we have the best and fittest representative of old Brookline, — yes, of

old "Muddy River," — for his name and lineage go back, I believe, to the earliest settlement of the town.

Let me only add that I think no one who reviews the history of the place, not merely as given by good Dr. Pierce, but also as developed and illustrated since by those who have dwelt within its limits, can fail to be impressed with the rich and copious streams of benevolence and beneficence, of private virtue and of public usefulness and devotion, which have flowed out from that old "Muddy River," around which those ten Sagamores and their followers were assembled in 1632, when Governor Winthrop sent Captain Underhill and his twenty musketeers to discover and disperse them.

And now, gentlemen, let me devote a few closing words to something more practical. The year before us is destined to be an eventful one in our condition as a society. The approaching expiration of the lease of the lower story of our building, in Boston, renders it important that we should take seasonable measures for putting that building into a condition both for yielding us a larger rent, and for furnishing ampler and more secure accommodation for our own treasures; and I hope that at this very meeting the Standing Committee, or some other committee, may be authorized and instructed to employ a careful architect to examine the premises, and prepare plans and estimates for the work. Above all things, the building should, if possible, be made absolutely fire-proof.

One other matter seems to me worthy of our consideration. Our Society is now limited to one hundred members. We have ninety-nine living Resident Members on our rolls at this moment. A few of them, Mr. Savage, Dr. Felt, and Dr. Frothingham, we may hardly hope to see among us often, if ever, again. I cannot but think that the time is at hand for entering upon a moderate and gradual enlargement of our Society, or certainly for obtaining liberty for such an enlargement. We shall be obliged to go before the Legislature without much further delay, to obtain permission for holding

so large an amount in real estate as our building is now appraised at; and when we do this, we may well consider whether the addition of thirty or fifty to our number would not afford us greater opportunity of doing justice to the claims of others, as well as of subserving our own interests and promoting the cause in which we are associated.

With these general suggestions, I leave the whole matter with the Society; only expressing, in conclusion, the great gratification it affords me to find so goodly a gathering here this afternoon.

The President announced as a gift to the Library from the government of Nova Scotia, through Thomas B. Akins, Esq., Commissioner of Records, a volume of public documents, entitled, "Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia."

The President read a number of letters describing a valuable collection of Colonial and Continental currency, made by Dr. Joshua P. Cohen, of Baltimore; who wishes to sell it, and who asks \$5,000 for it. One of the letters, that of Colonel Brantz Mayer, President of the Maryland Historical Society, here follows:—

BALTIMORE, 29d June, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have lately had an opportunity of examining thoroughly the superb collection formed by Dr. Joshua P. Cohen, of this city, during the last forty years, of the *Colonial* and early *Continental* or *Congressional Currencies of North America*. This large assemblage of the various issues embraces nearly *three thousand specimens*, composed of the "bills of credit" (as they were called) put forth by the British Colonies in America before and after the declaration of independence, as well as by the Continental Congress, from 10th of May, 1775, to the last issue, on the 14th January, 1779.

Let me describe the sets with a little more detail. 1st. The Continental series made by Dr. Cohen—being the one issued wholly by Congress—is entirely complete. It embraces fine specimens of each denomination, and of each date *of every issue*, exhibiting, by *two specimens*, the obverse and reverse of each bill. Besides these, Dr. Cohen has, very properly, included in his collection many specimens

of *counterfeit* and *altered* notes, with a complete set of the extremely rare bills of May 20, 1777, and April 11, 1778, which, in consequence of the immense quantity of *forged notes* of the same date, issued from New York, then in possession of the British, were, on the 2d of January, 1779, ordered by our Congress to be recalled from circulation, and to cease being passed as values. This collection is contained in *one* large folio volume, neatly mounted, and in regular sequence.

2d. The bills issued by the Colonies or States, including those of Vermont in 1781, are very extensive, dating from a very early period in the history of this species of American currency. Many of them were printed at the press of Benjamin Franklin, while the cuts that ornament or distinguish them were in several instances either actually made by him or under his immediate direction. I am justified in saying, that this numerous series embraces some of the very rarest Colonial or State bills, and that no other set of equal value is now in existence, or could probably be formed by the most industrious of our collectors.

Dr. Cohen has made it by extensive correspondence, and by repeated visits to State capitals, and friends in other cities; and I know that it has been his zealous labor of love during a lifetime. This series is embraced in *thirteen* volumes, similar in all respects to the volume, previously described, containing the Continental series.

As a companion of these two sets of currency there is, also, a bound volume, compiled with care and skill by Dr. Cohen, embracing *in manuscript* all the enactments of Congress authorizing the various issues, all the scales of depreciation, a large collection of illustrative materials, and contemporary opinions of Washington, Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, and other illustrious founders of the republic.

As mere curiosities, these *fifteen* important volumes would be of inappreciable value to any enlightened collector. But, as a *unique assemblage of American currency during our early periods*,—an assemblage which it will *not* be possible to duplicate hereafter,—I regard the set as a national historical work; which (if Dr. Cohen parts with it) should not be suffered to pass into any other collection than that of our government. Congress should be eager to obtain it. If now neglected, in a few years our successors will be surprised at the indifference of an ancestry which allowed such a record to escape it.

I beg leave, most respectfully, to call your attention to the matter, as I understand Dr. Cohen would be willing to relinquish it for such a national destination.

The several letters were referred to the Standing Committee.

He also read a letter from Mr. W. A. Maury, of Richmond, enclosing a printed circular relating to the Virginia Historical Society, whose friends ask assistance to enable it to resume its operations.

Dr. ELLIS announced the volume of "Historical Lectures," delivered before the Lowell Institute, as ready for publication.

He presented a pamphlet entitled "A Letter to the Reverend Andrew Crosswell, &c. By Simon, the Tanner." Boston, 1771.

The President announced a new volume of "Proceedings," embracing the transactions of the Society for just two years, closing with the March meeting, 1869. Whereupon a vote of thanks to the Recording Secretary, and his associates of the Committee, was passed.

The President said he had received letters from our Honorary and Corresponding Members, Mr. Bryant and Mr. Grigsby, who had been invited to attend this meeting, and who regretted their inability to be present.

He read the following letter from Mr. Grigsby:—

EDGEHILL, NEAR CHARLOTTE C. H., VIRGINIA, June 5, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,— I regret very much that I cannot be present with you at the meeting of the Historical Society at your residence on the 10th instant. I have derived so much pleasure and instruction from the intellectual productions of the members, that I should like to see and know them in the body, more distinctly than I do at present. Indeed, there is hardly a day that passes, without my deriving valuable information and delight from the works of your associates. To omit the more elaborate works of Mr. Prescott, of Mr. Ticknor, of Mr. Motley, of Mr. Palfrey, of Mr. Savage, of Professor Parsons, and of others in letters and law, who may be said rather to represent the whole country than any part of it, the lighter things which the members now and then throw off, as a tree parts with its leaves to the wind, are most acceptable to me. The Life of Warren I recur to again and again. The Memoir of Chief-Justice Parsons is a treasure to every lover of the law. The Life of Prescott is the most fascinating picture of student-life contained in the several literatures into which my excursions lead me. It is as if some one who knew Gibbon as

well as Gibbon knew himself, had undertaken to annotate his autobiography. It will incite the young student to high and sustained effort, for generations to come. It will breed young historians, like rabbits, from Maine to California. The life of your late Senior Member by his son (which I also read in the admirable Memoir of President Walker) presents an interesting account of the middle parties, as contrasted with the earlier and later, of New England, and is quite as fair a map of the *tertium quid* party of Mr. Jefferson's administration as any we possess. It also contains traits of John Randolph's history and character to be found nowhere else. I am waiting for the completion of Mr. Pickering's life of his father, before I begin the earlier volumes. The face of Mr. Timothy Pickering's old enemy, by Stuart, — Mr. Giles, — is looking down upon me as I trace these lines; but it says not a word, as John Randolph, Mr. Pickering's old friend, is looking over his shoulder.

I have already told you how much I was delighted with your two volumes of the life of your own glorious ancestor; and I think I have told you more than once that a life of his illustrious namesake and descendant, Professor John Winthrop, of Harvard, ought to be forthcoming. Judging from the rude materials which I possess or can recall, a very fair life of the philosopher is practicable. You know that with Franklin and Rittenhouse, he made up the philosophic trio of the Revolution. Where is Mr. Sibley, with such a theme at his elbow? But I would exhaust your patience, were I to proceed to enumerate the works of your associates which I have been reading for more than forty years, and which I still read, — for good books, like good wine, improve with age; and although so many of those eminent and excellent men have departed, I should like to see the survivors once more, before they, too, disappear. And here I ought not to omit the confession of the perpetual entertainment and instruction which I derive from the solid phalanx of your "Proceedings" and "Collections." On the topic of Virginia alone, they are very valuable.

But, liberal as have been the contributions of your associates and your own to letters, I am ready, like Oliver Twist, to ask for more. Here, on the banks of the Roanoke, and in the shadow of the forests that gird the stream of Shells; and at the distance of a morning's drive from the dust of Patrick Henry and John Randolph; and facing that far distant Land of Flowers, which is the fairest trophy of his genius, I call for a full, broad, overflowing Life of John Quincy Adams. It is one of the grandest themes in our history. Here is a man who may be said to have begun his career in 1777, when he went over with

his father to France,—for he was an observer from his childhood,—and who died in full harness as late as 1848; if I mistake not, in your own room in the Capitol; a lapse of seventy teeming years, during which he came in contact with the most remarkable figures of that vast range in Europe and America. Personally, he was in some departments a very great man, in many admirable, in all respectable. With the exception of Mr. Jefferson, he was the most self-reliant and fearless of all our statesmen. This is a striking trait with posterity. Had his profound sagacity been sustained by a Southern cabinet, Texas would have been ours, without a drop of blood or a word of quarrel, half a century ago. I know the delicacy of the task in some domestic aspects, but it must be done at one time or other; and it ought to be done at once by the hand of a son, whose large and liberal experience and knowledge of the world will teach him to sink the partisan in the patriot, and view men and things through the medium of a masculine and generous philosophy. What a flood of light the Diary of Mr. Adams will throw on the persons and events of more than three-fourths of a century past! He saw almost all that was worth seeing from Edmund Burke to Tom Marshall (on the last of whom he bestowed exalted praise) and Davy Crockett; and the images of them all may be reposing in his cabinet. By the way, I spent the morning with Mr. Giles, in 1828 or '29, the day after he received the "National Intelligencer" containing his letters, which Mr. Adams published at his defiance, and remember the animation with which he commented on each letter in detail.

There should also be a Life of Mr. Everett, before his classmates and early contemporaries all pass away. In exact, elegant, abounding scholarship, it may be said of him what Grattan said of the elder Pitt, that he stood alone. By all his contemporaries at home and abroad, he was, in some important respects, unapproachable; and he mellowed kindly. His latest works are his best. The last work which I received from him, and the last of his works that I have read, was his speech on the 4th of July, 1860. He is the only illustration that I can recall in recent times, of the possibility of thorough and almost universal scholarship in a public man in a land of universal suffrage. In this respect alone, his life would afford an invaluable lesson in this country to youth, to middle age, and to gray hairs. We must seek his prototype, not in this country or in the Anglo-Saxon race, but on the continent; and it has often occurred to me that a very fair parallel may be run, to some extent, between him and Grotius. There was in both the same amazing precocity in their early attainments, especially in

Latin and Greek ; both spent a term at the Dutch or German colleges ; both engaged, almost in boyhood, in the most responsible public offices ; both received the honors of the Universities wherever they went ; both put forth their tracts *De Veritate* ; both, forsaking their legitimate professions, embarked in political affairs ; both became Members of Congress, and, I think, Secretaries of State, and wrote State papers ; both were accredited Ministers to the Court of St. James ; if Mr. Everett was Governor of Massachusetts, Grotius was Pensionary of Rotterdam, a far more responsible office in the sixteenth century. Had Mr. Everett flourished during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, we see from his writings that he, too, would have sent forth a *Mare Liberum*, which, in a certain sense, he has done ; both were engaged throughout their whole lives in honored literary pursuits that embraced many provinces ; there was the same mildness of character and purity of domestic life in both. Had Mr. Everett finished his long contemplated work on the Laws of Nations, of which he has given us a foretaste, we should have had a *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, as well as a *De Veritate* and a *Mare Liberum*. The fortune of the two men was very different. Imprisonment for life, exile, confiscation, the insatiable hatred of Richelieu, the base ingratitude of his adopted country, are the leading events in the life of Grotius ; and I am not aware that Mr. Everett ever met with discomfiture through life, except a failure to be re-elected governor by a single vote ; and I never heard that he had an enemy. On the score of speeches, or rather of the elaborate specimens of what Mr. Adams after Cicero calls demonstrative eloquence, there is no comparison, as these are the inventions of the present century. Grotius made his speeches at the bar, and at the bar he did not remain much longer than Mr. Everett remained in the pulpit.

And while I am asking, let me add one thing more. The next year will be the semi-centennial anniversary of your Convention of 1820. That was an extraordinary gathering. Yet the memory of it is almost gone. Though I can call up many of the members who composed it, as I have no copy of the journal, I cannot tell whether Governor Gore was there or not. When a youth I knew the character of Gore, who was the colleague of William Pinkney in London as a commissioner under the British treaty ; and I knew he lived some eight or ten miles out of Boston. And, as I was making a pedestrian tour through Massachusetts, I looked, on leaving Boston, at every elderly person I met with on the road, hoping to see the fine old man walking into the city, as was his wont, from his home at Waltham. Had I met him, might I not have ventured to inquire whether William Pinkney did really

and truly stop chewing and smoking tobacco while he was a commissioner, or postponed the sacrifice until he became Minister Plenipotentiary? I still have my doubts on the subject. But no one should undertake the management of such a theme as your great convention, without a long notice, and without a deliberate design to do full justice to the subject.

If I seem to lay too great a stress upon this topic of the lives of men, it is because I am convinced that one of the chief elements of patriotism is the household growth of the names and deeds of their great and good men in the hearts of a people. This, more than any thing else, constitutes the homogeneity of a commonwealth. The tide of change and time and foreign blood is perpetually breaking away the continuity between the past and the present; and we are in constant danger of becoming an utterly new people, — a bastard people, — a people that know not father or mother, — that saddest and most dangerous of things, a people without a past. Now, the affections, if I may so speak, are practical; and, to be in earnest, must fix upon persons, rather than things. We think more tenderly and lovingly of a good deed, and so of the doer, than we think of a mountain, or a plain, or a stream, or a bit of paper, write on it what you will. Thus flesh and blood, though long reduced to dust, become reinvested with life, and are made our contemporary and friend and counsellor, and, far more than inanimate nature, kindle our love, quicken our aspirations, and tend to keep the great family, past and present, of the State one and the same. Moreover, we are told by a high authority, that men who do not celebrate the worth of those who preceded them, are not apt to leave any thing behind them worthy of remembrance; and I recall to your recollection the sentiment of Tacitus, which I am fond of repeating — *contemptu famæ contemni virtutes*, — that we do despite to Virtue herself, when we fail to keep alive the memory of those whom she has crowned with honor.

On my return from Massachusetts in 1867, I was frequently asked what struck me most of all that I saw. The field of observation was vast indeed. I observed the wonderful increase of your city in the interval of forty years, of Cambridge, and of the neighboring towns; your public schools with their twenty or thirty thousand pupils; your college with its new halls and overflowing libraries, borrowing fresh youth from the centuries; your private and public structures; the Dowse Library and the Winthrop manuscript; your many valuable institutions, your munificent endowments; your intellectual men and brilliant women and sweet children; the dust of your illustrious dead, reposing amid the

smoke and strife of the city, or beneath the fragrant airs of Mount Auburn; your unequalled and endless succession of rural villas, which looked as if your whole land was keeping holiday; and many other things; and I was chastened and delighted with them all. Yet there were two things, which, in such a harvest of life and art, were almost insignificant, but which touched me most of all. The first was the large number of lads and lasses in common apparel, who were ranged on the benches in the Public Library, quietly awaiting their time to be served with fresh books in place of those that had been returned; a moral spectacle, which, as my mind ran over its innumerable antecedents and consequents, affected me almost to tears. And the other thing was the marble statue of James Otis in the chapel of Mount Auburn. I was struck by it just as Benjamin West was struck by the first sight of the Apollo Belvidere. I was surprised and delighted to see and know that the spirit of the great patriot orator of the North was enshrined in so God-like a form. I shall never forget my indebtedness to the kind friend who showed me two such sights. I had never heard of the statue of Otis. He was my darling character of the more modern colonial New England, as John Winthrop was of the earlier time. He stands with us of the South in inseparable union with Patrick Henry. Then his afflictions and timely death placed him, like his compatriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr., by a peculiar and fortunate canonization, beyond the atmosphere of faction, and preserved his lustre undefiled by the passion and the dirt of later times. The beauty of his daily life; his literary accomplishments, which enabled him, not merely to draw some vague meaning from a Latin or Greek composition, which is too often the bound of the knowledge of many modern lawyers, but to enter into all the worth of its structure, and to relish the minutest graces of its rhythm,—an art he taught others to acquire in his tract on prosody; his splendid powers of argumentation, his vivid eloquence; his moral heroism ever so conspicuous, his patriotism ever so pure; the treatment of his person on that disastrous day so revolting, and his magnanimity in forgiving it all so majestic; that cloud that came over his lordly intellect when in full blaze and shut him out from communion with his kind; that memorable death, coming just as his country's independence was achieved and assured and soon to be acknowledged by the parent-land, and summoning him instantly away, as it were, by a special messenger from the Most High,—all these attributes and qualities, which would have imparted dignity to the humblest figure, embodied in the noblest, appealed with resistless force to my heart. As I gazed upon that statue, I strained

my ear and my memory to catch the tones of some patriotic harp that had hymned its praises, either in the bowers of the University which claimed the original as one of its brightest jewels, and in the presence of scholars and divines and statesmen, and those merchant-princes who so frequently take their coursers from the car of commerce and hitch them to the car of philosophy, or in the retirement of the closet, or in its own hallowed temple; but I strove in vain. The Muse of Song, if she ever deigned to pause in the presence of one of her most skilful worshippers, passed in silence by; and ever since that day I have watched the footsteps of Dr. Holmes and Mr. Longfellow more closely than ever. All know the genius of those two eminent associates of yours, and their glowing patriotism which has sparkled on many a brilliant occasion, and who, in their connection with you, handsomely and happily do homage to History, as one of the Sacred Nine; and I have an inward and cheering assurance that, though the statue itself may perish by time, or fire, or force, or, like our own Washington, be lifted from its pedestal and borne away by the invader, posterity, in common with the present generation, will behold the reflection of the image of New England's most illustrious patriot-orator of the era of the Revolution, in the immortal verse of at least two of her greatest poets. How blessed and enrapturing is the influence of true poetry! It embalms and popularizes the sublimest forms of sculpture and art. Even the Apollo has gathered new immortality from Childe Harold; and I never think of the Prescott Swords, but the pleasing strains of Dr. Frothingham come over me.

With an expression of renewed regret that I cannot be with you, and with the highest respect for the members of the Society,

I am, as ever, truly yours,

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
Boston, Mass.

The President recurred to the subject of the approaching expiration of the lease of that part of the Society's building now occupied by the Savings-Bank, and thought the Society should soon take some steps toward an alteration in the building, both for a future tenant and for the Society's accommodation. Whereupon it was—

Voted, To refer this whole subject to the Standing Committee, with full power.

The necessity of soon applying to the Legislature for leave to hold more real and personal property than the present charter allows, and of enlarging the number of our members, was again alluded to by the President, and it was —

Voted, To refer the subject last named to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Clifford, Ellis, Gray, Deane, and Davis, to consider the subject, and report to the Society.

Mr. PARKMAN, who had recently returned from a visit to Europe, alluded to some papers of considerable value which he had seen in possession of the Marquis of Montcalm in Paris; and particularly to one letter of some historical significance, supposed to have been written by General Montcalm, who fell at Quebec. Mr. Parkman's remarks were substantially as follows: —

During the last spring I had a number of interviews with the Marquis of Montcalm at Paris. He informed me that he had in his possession among his family papers the correspondence of his ancestor, General Montcalm, with his relatives in France during the last French war in America. He allowed me to examine these papers and have copies of them made. They proved to be of great interest and value, consisting of forty-nine letters, some of them very long, from Montcalm to his mother and sister, besides a considerable number of other letters written by persons in immediate connection with Montcalm in America. I caused the whole of them to be copied.

Among these papers was the remarkable letter written by Montcalm a short time before his death, in which he prophesies that the fall of Canada will eventually occasion the revolt of the British Colonies. This letter, together with several others purporting to be written by Montcalm, was published in London by J. Almon during the Revolutionary war.* Its

* The letter to which special reference is here made purports to have been written by General Montcalm to M. de Molé, from Quebec, Aug. 24, 1759. This was three weeks

authenticity was, it seems, called in question at the time, and has ever since remained in doubt. In course of conversation with the marquis, — before he had shown me the papers, — he remarked that the personal and military qualities of his ancestor were tolerably well known; but that he had one quality which was not sufficiently recognized, and this was his political foresight, which was proved, he added, by one of his letters in which he made a remarkable prophecy concerning the American Revolution. I told him I knew the letter to which he alluded, as it had been published in England in a small volume. He expressed great surprise and interest at this, saying that he had never seen the volume or heard of it,

before the fall of that fortress, which was coincident with the death of General Montcalm, and was followed by the surrender of Canada to the British power.

The letter was first printed, both in French and in an English translation (the pages of each made to face those of the other), in 1777, in a small pamphlet, with the following title: "Lettres de Monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm, Gouverneur-Général en Canada; à Messieurs de Berryer & de la Molé. Ecrites dans les Années 1757, 1758, & 1759. Avec une Version Angloise. * * * A Londres: Chez J. Almon, vis-à-vis de Burlington-house, Piccadilly, M.D.C.C.LXXVII." A corresponding English title follows on the opposite page, facing this. Besides the letter to Molé, the pamphlet contains two letters addressed to "M. de Berryer, first Commissioner of the Marine of France," — one written in the year 1757, and the other in 1758, — both dated from Montreal.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for July, 1777, at page 342, is a notice of this publication, the writer giving an extract from one of the letters, and concluding thus: "The whole is worth perusal, and shows that M. de Montcalm was *tam Mercurio quam Marti*. It is proper to add, that the authenticity of the work was lately attacked in the House of Lords by Lord Shelburne, but ably defended by Lord Mansfield." This debate will be found in the Parliamentary Register (Supplement), vol. vii. pp. 123, 126, 127, under the date of May 30, 1777. On the titlepage of a copy of Almon's pamphlet, among the Ebeling collection in Harvard-College Library, Mr. Sparks has written: "The letters are unquestionably spurious." Of course, these criticisms apply to the two letters addressed to Berryer, as well as to the letter to Molé.

A French writer, the Abbé Pierre de Longchamps, in a "Histoire Impartiale des Evénemens Militaires et Politiques de la Dernière Guerre," &c., published at Amsterdam and at Paris in 1785, at vol. i. p. 6, cites an opinion of an eminent Englishman (without giving his name), expressed during the French war; namely, that Canada was the guard of the English Colonies, and he wondered why the ministry wished to conquer it. Leading from the reference to this Englishman in the text, the writer has a footnote as follows: "L'auteur anonyme des Lettres imprimées sous le nom de *Montcalm*, & fausement attribuées à ce Général. Quoique publiées pour la première fois en 1777, elles avoient été composées dès 1757. C'est le premier ouvrage où l'on trouve la révolution actuelle de l'Amérique prédite d'un ton ferme & ses causes clairement énoncées."

Mr. Sparks, who copied this note of Longchamps upon the titlepage of the copy of Montcalm's Letters in the College Library, has written under the note the following: "Query. — Were the letters written in 1757?" — Eds.

though he was aware that a part of the letter had been published by Carlyle in his "History of Frederick the Great."* On the following day I called again, by appointment, upon the marquis, who had meanwhile arranged his ancestor's papers in the order of their dates upon a table for my inspection. The letter in question was among them, the ink and paper being apparently of the same age with those of the other letters. The handwriting, however, was different, being neither that of the general himself nor of his secretary. The letter was evidently a copy written with sufficient care to make it distinctly legible. Accompanying it, however, was what seemed to be the original draft, written in an exceedingly small and almost illegible hand, with many erasures and interlineations. It was in two columns on a small and soiled sheet of paper. Not being aware at the time that the authenticity of the letter had been seriously challenged, I cannot say positively whether or not the handwriting was that of Montcalm. My belief is that it was so, and that the small, cramped letters corresponded with those which caused so much trouble to my copyist in the other papers of the general. Being unable from weakness of sight to compare the original draft of the letter with the engrossed copy, I directed the person whom I employed to transcribe them to do so for me; making a copy of the engrossed letter, and noting on the margin of it any variations which might appear in the first draft. As he made no such notes I infer that the texts were substantially the same.

Two other letters ascribed to Montcalm were published in the London volume in connection with the letter in question. Neither of these was to be found among the family papers of the marquis.

Mr. Parkman further stated that he had compared the copy of the letter to Molé procured from the Marquis of Mont-

* In Volume V. of Harper's edition, at pages 449-451. — Eds.

calm's papers, with that published by Almon in 1777; and he had noticed many verbal variations, though both copies he believed would be found to correspond in meaning. These verbal discrepancies must have arisen, he supposed, from alterations made in the letter which was actually sent, from the wording of the original draft. The letter, published by Almon, we may conclude to have been printed from the despatched letter, which may have been captured by the English fleet, and thus diverted from its destination. The two copies may be seen below, the corresponding portions, side by side on the same page, and on the opposite page the English version as published by Almon.

[FROM THE PAMPHLET PUBLISHED BY
ALMON.]

*Copie d'une Lettre du Marquis de Montcalm à
Mons. de Molé, premier Président au Parle-
ment de Paris.*

MONSIEUR & CHER COUSIN, — Me voici, depuis plus de trois mois, aux prises avec Mons. Wolfe : il ne cesse, jour & nuit, de bombarder Québec, avec une furie, qui n'a guères d'exemple dans le siège d'une place, qu'on veut prendre & conserver. Il a déjà consumé par le feu presque toute la basse ville, une grande partie de la haute est écrasée par les bombes ; mais ne laisse-t-il pierre sur pierre, il ne viendra jamais à bout de s'emparer de cette capitale de la colonie, tandis qu'il se contentera de l'attaquer de la rive opposée, dont nous lui avons abandonné la possession. Aussi après trois mois de tentative, n'est-il pas plus avancé dans son dessein qu'au premier jour. Il nous ruine, mais il ne s'enrichit pas. La campagne n'a guères plus d'un mois à durer, à raison du voisinage de l'automne, terrible dans ces parages pour une flotte, par les coups de vent, qui règne constamment & périodiquement.

Il semble, qu'après un si heureux prélude, la conservation de la colonie est presque assuré. Il n'en est cependant rien : la prise de Québec dépend d'un coup de main. Les Anglois sont maîtres de la rivière : ils n'ont qu'à effectuer une descente sur la rive, où cette ville, sans fortifications, & sans défense, est située. Les voilà en état de me présenter la bataille, que je ne pourrai plus refuser, & que je ne devrai pas gagner. M. Wolfe, en effet, s'il entend son métier, n'a qu'à essayer le premier feu, venir ensuite à grand pas sur mon armée, faire à bout portant sa décharge, mes Canadiens, sans discipline, sourds à la voix du tambour, & des instrumens militaires, dérangés par cet écarre, ne sauront plus reprendre leurs rangs. Ils sont ailleurs sans bayonnettes pour répondre à celles de l'ennemi : il ne leur reste qu'à fuir, & me voilà, battu sans ressource. Voilà ma position ! — Position bien fâcheuse pour un général, & qui me fait passer de bien terribles momens. La connaissance que j'en aye m'a fait

[FROM THE MONTCALM PAPERS.]

*Lettre de Mr le Marquis de Montcalm, Général
des forces françaises en Amérique à Mr. Molé
en 1760.*

MON CHER COUSIN, — Depuis plus de trois mois Monsieur Wolf me presse vivement, il ne cesse de bombarder nuit et jour Québec, avec un acharnement dont on pourrait à peine citer un exemple dans le siège d'une place que l'ennemi désire de prendre et de garder. L'artillerie a détruit, quasi en entier, la ville inférieure, une grande partie de la supérieure est ruinée par les bombes ; mais quand il n'y resterait plus pierre sur pierre, les ennemis ne viendraient jamais à bout de leur dessein, tant qu'ils continueraient à nous attaquer par le côté que nous leur avons abandonné dès l'instant de leur descente. Aussi après trois mois de siège, ils ne sont pas plus avancés que le premier jour. L'ennemi nous ruine et ne s'enrichit point. La campagne ne peut durer guères plus d'un mois ; tant à cause des approches de l'automne, qui est terrible pour une flotte sur ces parages, que des vents périodiques qui y soufflent avec la plus furieuse impétuosité. Il semblerait donc qu'après de si heureux commencemens, la sûreté de la colonie n'est plus en danger : rien cependant, n'est moins certain. Le sort de Québec dépend d'une seule chose : les Anglois sont maîtres de la Rivière ; ils n'ont qu'à faire une descente du côté où la ville est sans défense, sans fortifications ; ils sont en état de nous présenter la bataille que je ne pourrai refuser, et que je ne puis espérer de gagner. Le Général Wolf, s'il entend son métier, n'a qu'à supporter notre premier feu, et s'avancer vivement en faisant une décharge lente et générale, mes Canadiens, sans discipline, n'entendant point le son du tambour ni des autres instrumens militaires, excités encore au désordre par le carnage ne sauront plus reprendre leurs rangs. D'ailleurs ils n'ont point de bayonnettes pour résister à celles de l'ennemi, il ne leur reste plus qu'à fuir, et je serai ainsi totalement défait.

Telle est ma situation, la plus pénible pour un général et qui me fait, en vérité, passer les plus cruels momens. La connaissance que

Copy of a Letter from the Marquis de Montcalm to Mons. de Molé, first President in the Parliament of Paris.

DEAR COUSIN, — For more than three months has Mr. Wolfe been hanging on my hands: he ceases not, night or day, to bombard Quebec with a fury, of which an example can hardly be produced in any siege of a place which the enemy wished to take and to preserve. They have already destroyed, by their artillery, almost the whole of the lower town; and a great part of the upper is demolished by their bombs: but, though they should leave not one stone upon another, they will not be able to carry their point, while they content themselves with attacking us from the opposite shore, which we have abandoned to them from the moment of their landing. Yet, after three months attempting it, they are no farther advanced in the siege, than they were on the first day. The enemy ruins us, but not enriches himself. The campaign cannot last above a month longer, on account of the approach of autumn, which is terrible to a fleet in these seas; as the winds then blow, constantly and periodically, with a most violent and impetuous fury.

It should seem, then, that after such a happy prelude, the security of the colony is not much in danger. Nothing, however, is less certain: the taking of Quebec depends on one masterly-stroke. The English are masters of the river: they have only to effect a landing in that part where the city is situated, unfortified and defenceless. They are in a condition to give us battle, which I must not refuse, and which I cannot hope to gain. General Wolfe, indeed, if he understands his business, has only to receive our first fire, and then advancing briskly on my army, and giving one heavy and general discharge, my Canadians, undisciplined, deaf to the sound of the drum and other military instruments, thrown likewise into disorder by the slaughter, would no more return to their ranks. Besides, they have no bayonets to make their ground good against those of the enemy; nothing remains for them but to run; and thus I shall be totally defeated. Such is my situation — a situation most grievous to a general, and which indeed gives me many bitter moments. The confidence I have of this, has

tenir jusqu'ici sur la défensive, qui m'a réussi; mais réussira-t-elle jusqu'à la fin? Les événements en décideront! Mais une assurance que je puis vous donner, c'est, que je ne survivrais pas probablement à la perte de la colonie. Il est des situations où il ne reste plus à un général, que de périr avec honneur: je crois y être; & sur ce point, je crois que jamais la postérité n'aura rien à reprocher à ma mémoire; mais si la Fortune decida ma vie, elle ne décidera pas de mes sentimens — ils sont François, & ils le seront, jusque dans le tombeau, si dans le tombeau on est encore quelque chose! Je me consolais du moins de ma défaite, & de la perte de la colonie, par l'intime persuasion où je suis, que cette défaite vaudrait un jour à ma patrie plus qu'une victoire, & que le vainqueur en s'aggrandissant, trouverait un tombeau dans son aggrandissement même.

Ce que j'avance ici, mon cher cousin, vous paraîtra un paradoxe; mais un moment de réflexion politique, un coup d'œil sur la situation des choses en Amérique, & la vérité de mon opinion, brillera dans tout son jour. Non, mon cher cousin, les hommes n'obéissent qu'à la force & à la nécessité; c'est-à-dire, que quand ils voyent armées devant leurs yeux, un pouvoir toujours prêt, & toujours suffisant, pour les y contraindre, ou quand la chaîne de leurs besoins, leur en dicte la loi. Hors de là point de joug pour eux, point l'obéissance, de leur part: ils sont à eux; ils vivent libres, parcequ'ils n'ont rien au dedans, rien au dehors, ne les oblige à se dépouiller de cette liberté, qui est le plus bel appanage, le plus précieux privilège de l'humanité. Voilà hommes! — & sur ce point les Anglois, soit par éducation, soit par sentiment, sont plus hommes que les autres. La gêne de la contrainte leur déplaît plus qu'à tout autre: il leur faut respirer un air libre & dégagé; sans cela ils sont hors de leur élément. Mais si ce sont là les Anglois de l'Europe, c'est encore plus les Anglois de l'Amérique. Un grand partie de ces colons sont les enfans de ces hommes qui s'expatrièrent dans ces temps de trouble, où l'ancienne Angleterre, en proie aux divisions, étoit attaquée dans ses privilèges & droits, & allèrent chercher en Amérique une terre, où ils puissent vivre & mourir libres, & presque indépendants; & ces enfans n'ont pas dégénérés des sentimens républicains de leurs pères. D'autres sont des hommes, ennemis de tout frein, de tout assujettissement, que le gouvernement y a transporté pour leurs crimes. D'autres, enfin, sont un ramas de différentes nations de l'Europe, qui tiennent très peu à l'ancienne Angleterre, par le cœur & le sentiment. Tous, en général ne se soucient guères du roi ni du parlement d'Angleterre.

J'en ai ma toujours fait tenir sur la *défensive*, qui m'a réussi jusqu'à ce moment: en sera-t-il de même jusqu'à la fin? L'événement le justifiera. Soyez au moins certain d'une chose: c'est qu'assurément je ne survivrai pas à la perte de la colonie. Il est des positions où il ne reste à un général qu'à mourir avec honneur. C'est là ma façon de voir. La postérité n'aura, à cet égard, rien à reprocher à ma mémoire. La fortune, quoiqu'elle décide de ma vie, n'influera en rien sur ma façon de penser, qui est celle d'un vrai François, et qui sera de même jusques au tombeau, là si nous sommes encore quelque chose, je me consolais de ma défaite et de la perte de la colonie par la ferme persuasion que cette défaite sera un jour plus avantageuse à ma patrie que la victoire, et que le conquérant, en l'aggrandissant trouvera son tombeau dans le pays qu'il aura conquis sur nous.

Ce que je dis, mon cher cousin, vous semble un paradoxe; mais une seule réflexion politique, un seul coup d'œil sur l'état actuel de l'Amérique, et mon opinion est démontrée. Les hommes, mon cher cousin, n'obéissent qu'à la force et à la nécessité. C'est à dire lorsqu'ils voient devant eux des troupes toujours prêtes à les contenir, ou lorsque la chaîne des besoins les soumet à la loi; hors de ce cas, ils secouent le joug, ils n'agissent que pour eux: ils vivent libres par ce que physiquement ni moralement, rien ne les oblige à contredire cette liberté, l'ornement le plus aimable et la plus belle prerogative de la nature humaine.

Observez le genre humain, et vous verrez les Anglois sur ce point plus hommes que les autres peuples. Cette espèce de contrainte leur déplaît plus qu'à tout autres; ils doivent respirer un air libre et sans bornes, sans quoi ils ne se trouvent pas en leur élément, si c'est là le génie des Anglois en Europe, ce l'est bien plus en Amérique. Une grande partie de leurs colons sont les enfans de ces hommes qui abandonnèrent l'Angleterre quand leurs droits et leurs privilèges furent attaqués au milieu des dissensions qui la bouleversaient; ils vinrent en Amérique chercher des terres où ils pourraient vivre et mourir libres et quasi indépendants. Ceux-ci n'ont pas dégénéré des principes républicains de leurs pères. D'autres, ennemis de toute contrainte et de toute soumission, sont ceux que le gouvernement y a fait transporter pour leurs crimes; d'autres enfin sont un ramassis de différentes nations de l'Europe dont le cœur n'est point animé de grands sentimens pour l'Angleterre. Tous en général ont peu de respect pour le Roi ou le parlement d'Angleterre. Je les connais

induced me always to act on the defensive, which has hitherto succeeded; but will it succeed in the end? The event must decide. But of one thing be certain, that I probably shall not survive the loss of the colony. There are situations, in which it only remains to a general to fall with honour: such this appears to me; and on this head, posterity shall not reproach my memory: though Fortune may decide upon my life, she shall not decide on my opinions — they are truly French, and shall be so even in the grave, if in the grave we are any thing! I shall at least console myself on my defeat, and on the loss of the colony, by the full persuasion that this defeat will one day serve my country more than a victory, and that the conqueror, in aggrandizing himself will find his tomb the country he gains from us.

What I have here advanced, my dear cousin, will appear to you paradoxical; but a moment's political reflection, a single glance upon the situation of affairs in America, and the truth of my opinion must appear. No, my dear cousin; it is to force and necessity only, that men obey; that is, when they see armies before their eyes, always ready and sufficient to controul them, or when the chain of their necessities reminds them of the law. Beyond this, they submit to no yoke; they act for themselves; they live free, because nothing internal or external obliges them to throw off that liberty, which is the most lovely ornament, and the most valuable prerogative of human nature! Search mankind; and upon this principle the English, whether from education or sentiment, are more men than others. This kind of constraint displeases them more than any other: they must breathe a free and unconfined air, otherwise they would be out of their element. But if this is the genius of the English of Europe, it is still more so with those of America. A great part of these colonists are the children of those men who emigrated from England when their rights and privileges were attacked in that country, which was then torn by dissensions; they went in search of lands in America, where they could live and die free, and almost independent: these children have not degenerated from the republican principles of their fathers. Others there are, enemies to all restraint and submission, whom the government has transported thither, for their crimes. Lastly, there are others, a collection of the different nations of Europe, who hold very little regard for England in their hearts and sentiments: all, in general, care very little either for the king or parliament of England.

Je les connois bien, non sur des rapports étrangers, mais sur des informations & des correspondances secrètes, que j'ai moi-même ménagés, & dont un jour, si Dieu me prête vie, je pourrais faire usage à l'avantage de ma patrie. Pour surcroît de bonheur pour eux, tous ces colons sont parvenus dans un état très florissant: ils sont nombreux & riches; ils recueillent, dans le sein de leur patrie, toutes les nécessités de la vie. L'ancienne Angleterre a été assez sotte, & assez dupe, pour leur laisser établir chez eux les arts, les metiers, les manufactures; c'est-à-dire, qu'elle leur a laissé briser la chaîne de besoins, qui les lioit, qui les attachoit à elle, & qui en fait dépendans. Aussi toutes ces colonies Angloises auroient, depuis long temps, secoué le joug, chaque province auroit formé une petite republique indépendante, si la crainte de voir les François à leur porte n'avoit été un frein, qui les avoit retenus. Maîtres pour maîtres ils ont préféré leurs compatriotes aux étrangers, prenant cependant, pour maxime, de n'obéir que le moins qu'ils pourroient; mais que le Canada vint à être conquis, & que les Canadiens & ces colons ne fussent plus qu'un seul peuple, & le premier occasion, où l'ancienne Angleterre sembleroit toucher à leurs intérêts, croiez-vous, mon cher cousin, que ces colons obéiroient? Et qu'auroient-ils à craindre, en se revoltant? L'ancienne Angleterre auroit-elle une armée de cent ou de deux cens mille hommes à leur opposer dans cette distance? Il est vrai, qu'elle est pourvue de vaisseaux, que les villes de l'Amerique Septentrionale, qui sont d'ailleurs en très petit nombre, sont toutes ouvertes, sans fortifications, sans citadelles, & que quelques vaisseaux de guerre dans le port suffiroient pour les contenir dans le devoir; mais l'intérieur du pays, qui forme un objet d'un bien plus grande importance, qui feroit le conquérir à-travers les rochers, les lacs, les rivières, les bois, les montagnes, qui le coupent par-tout, & où une poignée d'hommes connoissans le terrain, suffiroit pour détruire de grands armées? D'ailleurs, si ces colons venoient à gagner les sauvages, & à les ranger de leur côté, les Anglois, avec toutes leurs flottes, seroient maîtres de la mer; mais je ne sçais s'ils en viendroient jamais à débarquer. Ajoutez, que dans le cas d'une revolte générale de la part de ces colonies, toutes les puissances de l'Europe, ennemis secrètes & jalouses de la puissance de l'Angleterre, leur aideroient d'abord sous main, & avec le temps ouvertement, à secouer le joug.

bien, non par les rapports des étrangers, mais par des instructions et des correspondances secrètes que je me suis ménagé et que je ferai servir si Dieu prolonge mes jours à l'avantage de ma patrie. Que manque-t-il à leur bonheur les planteurs sont parvenus à un état florissant, ils sont nombreux et riches, ils trouvent chez eux tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie. L'Angleterre a été assez peu prévoyante pour y laisser introduire les arts, le commerce et les manufactures, par où elle les a mis en état de briser les chaînes de la nécessité qui les contenaient, les liaient à elle, et les mettaient sous sa dépendance. Les Anglois des colonies auraient depuis longtemps secoué le joug si la crainte des François qu'ils voyent à leurs portes ne les eut retenus. Maître pour maître, ils aiment mieux être soumis à leurs compatriotes qu'à des étrangers, en observant la maxime de n'obéir que le moins possible. Mais quand le Canada sera conquis, et que les Canadiens et ce peuple n'en feront qu'un, à la première occasion où l'Angleterre semblera toucher à leurs intérêts, pensez-vous, mon cher cousin, que les colonies veuillent obéir? et qu'auront-elles à craindre d'une révolte? L'Angleterre pourratt-elle envoyer à cette distance une armée de cent ou deux cent mille hommes? Il est vrai que sa flotte est formidable, que d'ailleurs les villes du nord de l'Amerique Septentrionale sont en petit nombre et sans citadelles ou fortifications, et qu'il suffit de peu de gens dans leurs ports pour les contenir dans le devoir. Mais la partie avancée dans les terres qui forme un objet de la plus grande importance, qui osera entreprendre d'en faire la conquête, parmi les rocs, les lacs, les forests, et les montagnes qui la coupent partout dans tout les sens? et où une poignée de gens suffirait pour détruire la plus grande armée? Les planteurs attireront les sauvages dans leurs intérêts. Les Anglois avec leur flotte seront à la vérité les maîtres de la mer, mais je doute qu'ils puissent jamais faire une heureuse descente. Ajoutez que dans le cas d'une revolte de quelqu'une de leurs colonies, les autres puissances d'Europe, jalouses et en secret ennemis de la Grande Bretagne, les aideront, d'abord en cachette et ensuite publiquement, à secouer le joug. Il faut que je

I know them well ; not from the reports of strangers, but from information and secret correspondences, which I myself managed, and which, if God spares my life, I will one day turn to the advantage of my country. To add to their happiness, the planters have all arrived at a very flourishing situation : they are numerous and rich ; they centre in the bosom of their country, all the necessities of life. England has been so foolish and weak, as to suffer them to establish arts, trades, and manufactures, and thereby enabled them to break the chain of necessity which bound and attached them to her, and which made them dependent. All the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke, each province would have formed itself into a little independent republic, if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check upon them. Master for master, they have preferred their own countrymen to strangers, observing, however, this maxim, to obey as little as possible : but when Canada shall be conquered, and the Canadians and these colonies become one people, on the first occasion, when England shall seem to strike at their interest, do you believe, my dear cousin, that these colonies will obey ? and what would they have to fear from a revolt ? Could England send an army of an hundred or two hundred thousand men to oppose them at such a distance ? It is true, she possesses a fleet, and the towns of North America, besides being few in number, are all open, without citadels or fortifications, and that a few men of war in their ports would be sufficient to keep them to their duty ; but the interior part of the country, which forms an object of much greater importance, who would undertake to conquer it, over rocks, lakes, rivers, woods, and mountains, which every where intersect it, and where a handful of men, acquainted with the country, would be sufficient to destroy the greatest armies ? Besides, should the planters be able to bring the savages into their interests, the English, with all their fleets, would be masters of the sea ; but I doubt whether they would ever make good a landing. Add too, that in case of a general revolt, of any part of these colonies, all the powers of Europe, secret and jealous enemies of the power of England, would at first assist them privately, and then openly, to throw off the yoke.

Je ne puis cependant pas dissimuler que l'ancienne Angleterre, avec un peu de bonne politique, pourroit toujours se réserver dans les mains une ressource toujours prête pour mettre à la raison ses anciennes colonies. Le Canada, considéré dans lui-même, dans ses richesses, dans ses forces, dans le nombre de ses habitants, n'est rien en comparaison du conglobat des colonies Anglaises; mais la valeur, l'industrie, la fidélité de ses habitants, y supplie si bien, que depuis plus d'un siècle ils se battent avec avantage contre toutes ces colonies: dix Canadiens sont suffisants contre cent colons Anglols. L'expérience journalière prouve ce fait. Si l'ancienne Angleterre, après avoir conquis le Canada sçavoit se l'attacher par la politique & les bienfaits, & se le conserver à elle seule, si elle le laissoit à sa religion, à ses loix, à son langage, à ses coutumes, à son ancien gouvernement, le Canada, divisé dans tous ces points d'avec les autres colonies, formeroit toujours un pais isolé, qui n'entreroit jamais dans leurs intérêts, ni dans leurs vus, ne fut ce que par principe de religion; mais ce n'est pas là la politique Britannique. Les Anglols font-ils une conquête, il faut qu'ils changent la constitution du pays, ils y portent leurs loix, leurs coutumes, leurs façons de penser, leur religion même, qu'ils font adopter sous peine, au moins, de privation des charges; c'est-à-dire, de la privation de la qualité de citoyen. Persecution plus sensible que celle des tourmens; parcequ'elle attaque l'orgueil & l'ambition des hommes, & que les tourmens n'attaquent que la vie, que l'orgueil & l'ambition font souvent mépriser. En mot, êtes-vous vaincu, conquis par les Anglols? — Il faut devenir Anglols! Mais les Anglols ne devroient-ils pas comprendre, que les têtes des hommes ne sont pas toutes des têtes Anglolses, & sur-tout d'esprits? Ne devroient-ils pas sentir, que les loix doivent être relatives aux climats, aux mœurs des peuples, & se varier, pour être sage, avec la diversité des circonstances? Chaque pays a ses arbres, ses fruits, ses richesses particulières: voudr-ils transporter que les arbres, que les fruits d'Angleterre, seroit une ridicule impardonable. Il est de même des loix, qui doivent s'adapter aux climats; parceque les hommes eux-mêmes tiennent beaucoup des climats.

Mais c'est là une politique que les Anglols n'entendent pas, ou plutôt ils l'entendent bien, car ils ont la réputation d'être un peuple plus pensant que les autres; mais ils ne peuvent pas adopter un tel système par le système manqué & defectueux de leurs constitutions. Sur ce pied le Canada, pris une fois par les Anglols,

le dise, avec un peu plus de prévoyance dans sa politique, l'Angleterre auroit toujours eu en main, de quoi mettre les colons à la raison. Le Canada, considéré en lui même pour ses richesses, ses forces, et le nombre de ses habitants n'est rien en comparaison du reste des colonies anglaises; mais la valeur, l'industrie, et la fidélité de ses habitants supplée si bien au nombre, que pendant plus d'un siècle, ils ont combattu avec avantage, contre toutes les autres colonies. Dix Canadiens valent autant que cent colons Anglols. L'expérience l'apprend tout les jours. Si l'Angleterre, après la conquête sait la manière de se les attacher par la politique et la bonté, et les garder pour elle seule, si elle leur laisse leur religion, leurs coutumes, leur langage, et leur gouvernement le Canada séparé sous tous les rapports, des autres colonies, formera un pays distinct qui n'entrera jamais dans leurs vus, ne fut-ce que par principes de religion. Mais ce n'est point la manière des Anglols. S'ils en font la conquête, ils changeront assurément la constitution du pays, et y introduiront leurs loix, leurs coutumes, leur manière de penser, et leur religion; ce qui sera une double peine pour les vaincus. Enfin ils les écarteront de toutes les charges publiques, espèce de privation des droits de citoyen, persécution plus sensible que les supplices, parcequ'elle attaque l'orgueil et l'ambition des hommes; tandis que les supplices attaquent seulement la vie que l'orgueil et l'ambition nous font souvent mépriser. En un mot, soyez conquis par les anglols, vous serez bientôt anglols. Mais ils devraient se souvenir que tous les hommes n'ont pas la tête anglaise, et qu'ils en ont encore moins l'esprit. Ne devraient-ils pas s'apercevoir que les loix doivent être appropriées au climat et aux mœurs des peuples, et qu'elles sont prudemment variées relativement aux diverses circonstances. Chaque pays a ses arbres, ses fruits, et ses richesses particulières. Vouloir transporter ailleurs les arbres et les fruits d'Angleterre seroit une folle inexusable. Il en est de même de leurs loix qui doivent être adaptées au climat, parceque les hommes tiennent eux-même beaucoup du climat. C'est là une espèce de politique qu'ils n'entendent point, ou, à mieux dire, qu'ils entendent très bien; car ils passent pour le peuple le plus réfléchi; mais que l'imperfection de leur constitution les empêche d'adapter.

En revenant au Canada: une fois pris par les Anglols, il souffrira beaucoup en peu d'an-

I must however confess, that England, with a little good policy might always keep in her hands a resource ready to bring her ancient colonies to reason. Canada, considered in itself, in its riches, forces, and number of inhabitants, is nothing to compare to the bulk of the English colonies; but the valour, industry, and fidelity of its inhabitants, so well supply the place of numbers, that for more than an age, they have fought with advantage against all the colonies: ten Canadians are more than a match for an hundred English colonists. Daily experience proves this to be fact. If England, after having conquered Canada, knew how to attach it to her by policy and kindnesses, and to reserve it to herself alone; if she left them their religion, laws and language, their customs and ancient form of government, Canada, separated in every respect from the other colonies, would always form a distinct country, which would never enter into their views and interests, were it only from principles of religion; but this is not the policy of Britain. If the English make a conquest, they are sure to change the constitution of the country, and introduce their own laws, customs, modes of thinking, and even their religion, which they impose under pain, at least, of disqualification to any public office; that is, depriving them of the rights of citizens. — A persecution more sensible than that of torments; because it attacks the pride and ambition of men, while torments affect only the life, which pride and ambition often make us despise. In a word, are you conquered, conquered by Englishmen? — You must become Englishmen! But ought not the English to remember, that the heads of men are not all the heads of Englishmen, and much less their minds? Ought they not to perceive, that the laws should be suitable to the climates and manners of the people, and that they should be prudently varied, according to the different circumstances? Each country has its peculiar trees, fruits and riches; to transport the trees and fruits only of England thither would be an unpardonable folly. It is the same with their laws, which ought to be adapted to the climate; because men themselves derive much from climate.

This is a species of policy which the English do not understand, or rather understand it well; for they have the reputation of being a more thinking people than others; but they cannot adopt such a system, on account of the imperfect and defective system of their own constitutions. Upon this account, Canada, once taken by the English,

peu d'années suffiroient pour le faire devenir Anglois. Voilà les Canadiens transformés en politiques, en negocians, en hommes infatués d'une prétendue liberté, qui chez la populace tiennent souvent en Angleterre de la licence, & de l'anarchie. Adieu, donc, leur valeur, leur simplicité, leur générosité, leur respect pour tout ce qui est revêtu de l'autorité, leur frugalité, leur obéissance, & leur fidélité; c'est-à-dire, ne feroient bien-tôt plus rien pour l'ancienne Angleterre, & qu'ils feroient peut-être contre elle. Je suis si sur de ce que j'écris, que je ne donnerai pas dix ans après la conquête de Canada pour en voir l'accomplissement.

Voilà ce que, comme François, me console aujourd'hui du danger éminent que court ma patrie, de voir cette colonie perdue pour elle; mais, comme général, je n'en ferai pas moins tous mes efforts pour le conserver. Le Roi, mon maître, me l'ordonne: il suffit. Vous sçavez que nous sommes d'un sang, qui fut toujours fidèle à ses Rois; & ce n'est pas à moi à dégénérer de la vertu de mes ancêtres. Je vous mande ces réflexions, à-fin que, si le sort des armes en Europe nous obligeoit jamais à plier & à subir à la loi, vous puissiez en faire l'usage, que votre patriotisme vous inspirera.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, mon cher cousin, votre très humble, &c.

MONTCALM.

Du camp devant Quebec, 24 d'Août, 1759.

nées pour devenir Anglois. Les Canadiens deviendront des politiques, des marchands, et des hommes infatués d'une prétendue liberté qui dégénère souvent chez la populace anglaise en licence et en anarchie. Alors plus de valeur, de simplicité, de générosité et de respect pour tout ce qui porte l'empreinte de l'autorité; plus de frugalité, de soumission et de fidélité. Ils vont être bientôt en discussion et divisés d'intérêt avec l'Angleterre. J'en suis si assuré que je ne donne pour le voir pas plus de dix ans après la conquête du Canada.

Voilà ce qui, en vrai français, me console du danger imminent de perdre la colonie. Cependant je ferai comme général, tout ce qui sera en moi pour la défendre. Le roi, mon maître, me l'ordonne ainsi; et cela me suffit. Vous sçavez que nous sommes d'un sang qui a toujours été fidèle à son autorité, et je ne dégènerai pas de cette vertu de mes ancêtres. Je vous envoie ces réflexions, afin que si jamais le sort des armes nous obligeait à céder et à recevoir la loi, vous en fassiez usage de la manière que l'amour de la patrie vous fera paraître le plus avantageuse.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, mon cher cousin, votre cher cousin, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

MONTCALM.

Du camp devant Quebec, 24 Août, 1759.

[While the Publishing Committee were preparing these several copies of the Montcalm letter for the press, a careful comparison of the English and French copies, as published side by side by Almon, was made, when it was soon perceived that the English copy could not be regarded as a literal translation from that of the French. The same comparison was made at the same time with the other French copy recently obtained from the papers of the Marquis of Montcalm, and with a similar result. The English copy, it was found, could not have been translated from either of the French taken separately: sometimes it corresponds with one, and sometimes with the other. The question then suggested itself to the editor of this

would, in a few years suffer much from being forced to be English. Thus would the Canadians be transformed into politicians, merchants, and men infatuated with a pretended liberty, which, among the populace in England, sinks often into anarchy and licentiousness. Farewell then to their valour, simplicity, generosity, and respect to every thing in the shape of authority; farewell to their frugality, obedience and fidelity: they would soon be of no use to England, and perhaps they would oppose her. I am so clear in what I now assert, that I would not give more than ten years after the conquest of Canada, to see it accomplished.

See then what now consoles me, as a Frenchman, for the imminent danger my country runs of losing this colony; but, as a general, I will do my best to preserve it. The King, my master, orders me to do so: that is sufficient. You know we are of that blood, which was always faithful to its kings, and it is not for me to degenerate from the virtue of my ancestors. I send you these reflections with this view, that if the fate of arms in Europe should ever oblige us to bend and to receive the law, you may make use of them in such manner as the love of your country shall direct you.

I have the honour to be, my dear cousin, your most humble, &c.

MONTCALM.

CAMP BEFORE QUEBEC, Aug. 24, 1759.

volume whether the English copy should not be regarded as the original, and the French copies as two independent translations from that. Such an hypothesis, of course, suggests another; namely, that the letter is a forgery. The importance, therefore, of ascertaining with certainty, whether the copy seen by Mr. Parkman in the possession of the Marquis of Montcalm, "on a small soiled sheet of paper," and which "seemed to be the original draft" of the French letter, "with many erasures and interlineations," was really or not in the handwriting of General Montcalm, will be obvious to all. Mr. Parkman kindly offered to write to the Marquis on the subject, and the printing of the "Proceedings" was accordingly suspended in the mean

time. The following is the correspondence between Mr. Parkman and the Marquis of Montcalm:—

(TRANSLATION.)

Boston, Sept. 10, 1860.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS, — When I had the honor of meeting you at Paris, I made mention of a book printed at London during the American Revolutionary War, and containing three letters of your illustrious ancestor. One of these letters is that in which he predicts the revolt of the British-American provinces as likely to follow the fall of Canada. There are two copies of this letter among the papers which you had the goodness to place in my hands. One of them is clearly written, but in a hand different from that of the other letters. The other is written on a defaced sheet of paper, in a hand very small and difficult to read, with many erasures and interlineations. It appears to be the first sketch of this famous letter. It is on this point that I wish to gain definite information, and I write in order to inquire whether or not it is in the handwriting of the celebrated Marquis.

I make this inquiry for the following reason: Since my return, I have learned that the authenticity of this letter was seriously questioned at the time of its publication. It was said, in the British parliament, to have been forged for political reasons. To answer these doubts, I produced the copy of the letter made in your house, before the Massachusetts Historical Society. I was listened to with much interest, and those present agreed that its authenticity was almost certain, since a copy of it was found among the family papers of its author. But if the original itself were to be found there, the proof would be unanswerable. I therefore take the liberty of asking you if this is the case, and I shall be greatly obliged to you for any further information which you can give me on the subject. I have compared the copy made for me by M. Jeanne with the printed letter. The ideas are the same, but the words are different throughout. As for the other letters in the English publication, I found none of them among the papers in your possession. They relate solely to the condition of the English colonies in America.

Again thanking you for your extreme kindness, I beg you to accept the assurance of the distinguished consideration with which I am, etc.,

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

*The Marquis of Montcalm to Mr. Parkman.**

MY DEAR SIR, — On my return to Paris from a journey in Germany I found your kind letter of August last. Let me at once ask a thousand pardons for my long silence, which was caused entirely by my absence from France.

It will be impossible for me to give you any real information as to the genuineness of the letter attributed to my great-grandfather. The only thing I can distinctly assert is that the copies found among my papers are not in his handwriting. They were, I think, sent over from England at the end of the last century, and then translated into French. This will explain the discrepancy you have noticed. The style, however, is that of my grandfather, concise, and a little jerky; and the personal sentiments expressed in the letter agree with those found in his other correspondence. I am well aware that this is not enough to establish the genuineness of the letter.

There is a tradition in my family that there exists somewhere in the national archives of England, a large number of papers relating to the Canada war, probably delivered to the English by a faithless secretary after my ancestor's death. Is it not possible that among them was the rough draft of the letter addressed to the First President

* This correspondence was conducted in French, on both sides. The following is the original letter of the Marquis of Montcalm: —

C'est en revenant d'un voyage en Allemagne, Monsieur, que j'ai trouvé à Paris votre aimable lettre du mois d'Août. Laissez-moi d'abord vous demander mille pardons de mon long silence, dont la cause seule est mon éloignement de France.

Il me sera difficile de vous donner un enseignement sérieux sur l'authenticité de la lettre attribuée à mon arrière-grandpère; ce que je peux uniquement affirmer c'est que les copies trouvées dans mes papiers ne sont pas écrites de sa main. Elles ont, je crois, été envoyées d'Angleterre à la fin du dernier siècle, et traduites alors en français, ce qui explique les différences de termes que vous avez remarquées, pourtant le style a bien du rapport avec celui de mon grandpère, concis, un peu saccadé, et les sentiments personnels qui y sont exprimés sont d'accord avec ceux qu'on trouve dans le reste de sa correspondance. Mais cela, je le comprends, ne suffit pas pour établir une réelle authenticité.

La tradition de ma famille est qu'il y a dans les archives nationales anglaises de nombreux papiers relatifs à cette guerre du Canada, papiers qui auraient été livrés aux Anglais, à la mort de mon ayeul, par un secrétaire infidèle. Ne serait-ce pas là qu'on aurait trouvé le brouillon de cette lettre adressée au Premier Président Moïse, ou même la lettre elle-même interceptée par quelques croisières anglaises? En somme, je ne saurais, je le répète, Monsieur, lever les doutes que vous pouvez avoir à ce sujet.

Je suis toujours heureux que cette circonstance me donne l'occasion de vous dire combien j'ai été charmé des trop courtes relations que nous avons eues. J'espère que malgré la largeur de l'Atlantique elles se renouvelleront encore, et que je pourrai de vive voix vous exprimer, Monsieur, les sentiments de réelle sympathie et de haute considération avec lesquels, je suis

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

PARIS, le 2 Octobre, 1869.

MONTCALM

P.S. — Carliole, dans l'histoire de Frédéric le Grand, a donné la lettre en question, et il la cite en Français; à quelle source a-t-il puisé le document?

Molé, or even the letter itself, intercepted by some English cruiser? After all, I can only repeat that I cannot solve your doubts in the matter.

I am very glad that this incident has given me a chance to say to you that I have had much pleasure in our too short relations; and to express my hope that, notwithstanding the extent of ocean separating us, they may at some time be renewed, and I may express in person the sentiments of real sympathy and great consideration with which I am

Your very humble and obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

PARIS, 2d October, 1869.

P.S. — Carlyle in his History of Frederic the Great gives the letter in question, and cites it in French. Whence did he get the document?

The result of this correspondence will not tend to strengthen confidence in the genuineness of the letter in question, as it appears that neither copy in the Marquis of Montcalm's possession is in the handwriting of his distinguished ancestor; but both are copies of a later French version made from an English copy, procured from England. If Almon's publication were the source whence the letter in its English form was procured and sent to France at the time mentioned by the marquis, the question might be asked, why that which was represented to be the French original published side by side with it, and which we have reprinted above, did not accompany it?

May we not reasonably conclude that the letter attributed to General Montcalm was written originally in English, and that the general was not its author?]

NOTE. — There were present at this meeting fifty-one members. Before calling the meeting to order, the members were grouped on the steps and the lawn in front of the house, and were photographed by Black. — Eds.

JULY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, the 8th of July, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian announced the donations for the past month. These included several volumes of the manuscript records of the "New North Church," the "Central Universalist Church," (or, as it was subsequently called, the "First Restorationist Church,") and the "Bulfinch-street Church," in the city of Boston,—the last two named churches having been merged in the "New North." They were presented by the pastor of the "New North," the Rev. William R. Alger.

The Librarian also noticed the gift, from Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R.I., of the catalogue of his private library; prepared by Mr. John Russell Bartlett.

A number of volumes from the Historical Society of France, and also from M. Desnoyers, its secretary,—previously announced as having been sent to the Society,—were placed upon the table at this meeting.

The Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D., of Staunton, Va., was elected a Corresponding Member.

The President called attention to a pamphlet of "Proceedings" placed upon the table, embracing the transactions of the Society at the April and May meetings. He stated that the Standing Committee had recommended that the volumes of "Proceedings" be now stereotyped, and issued in serial parts, from time to time; and that the members can have their choice in taking the volumes, either to receive them in parts as they may be issued, or to wait till an entire volume appears.

The President presented a copy of the "Second Annual

Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology," by the curator, Professor J. Wyman.

Mr. J. C. GRAY made some remarks relative to the discipline, and mode of instruction, in Michigan University.

The President read a letter from Mrs. H. W. Bowen, dated "Atchison, Kansas, June 4, 1869," and addressed to Dr. Peabody, of Harvard College, stating that the grandchildren of General Arthur St. Clair are in possession of his papers, and are desirous of disposing of them. They include letters from all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, all the generals of the army, and all the prominent men of that day. Before the death of Mrs. St. Clair, thirty years ago, she declined an offer of \$3,000 for them. The present owners have been offered for them a larger sum. The writer is desirous of knowing their value.

The President stated that there had been sent to him recently, from New London, Ct., by a relative of our late Corresponding Member, Miss Caulkins, a manuscript poem, of some length, written by that lady, and found among her papers since her decease. It is entitled, "Cobwebs in the Sky, or Nell McMudge: A Story of Country Witchcraft. By Frances Manwaring Caulkins." The poem consists of one hundred and twenty-one pages of letter-paper, and is divided into seven cantos, each canto preceded by an "argument." In the preface the author says: "The following tale combines in one narrative various New-England traditions connected with the witchcraft of former days. Almost every village, a hundred years ago, had its reputed witch. The incidents in this story are legendary, or copies of popular belief,—borrowed very little from invention or imagination. They have been gathered from floating sources,—the memories of the aged, or local tradition,—and woven together as a faithful embodiment of the superstition of former days. The ubiquity power here ascribed to the sorceress; and the facility with which she could

change herself into other forms, or enter other creatures, soul and body together, or leave her body and make excursions without it,—are all in conformity with tradition," &c.

The President read some passages from the poem; and Dr. HOLMES, who, at the request of the President, had read the poem throughout, expressed the opinion that it had considerable merit as a rhythmical production, and that it embodied many curious New-England traditions.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM, the Treasurer, stated that Mr. John A. Lowell, the Trustee of the Lowell Institute, had paid to him the sum of \$703.41,—the balance due for the expense of printing and binding seven hundred and fifty copies of the volume of Historical Lectures, after deducting the \$1,300 previously received from him for the delivery of these lectures.

Whereupon it was —

Voted, That the President be requested to make a suitable acknowledgment to Mr. Lowell for this generous aid to the Society; and that six copies of the volume of "Historical Lectures" be sent to him.

On motion of Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, it was —

Voted, That the Librarian be requested to prepare an abstract of the volumes of records of the "New North Church," which have been presented to the Society,—to be printed in the "Proceedings."

The President read the following letters, from copies made for him by Mr. Sainsbury, from the Public Record Office in London:—

J. Vernon to Joseph Williamson.*

HAGUE 26 January 1671/2.

* * * * *

Mr. Ellis & I were this day to see a House of the Prince's called Honslaer Dyke, about 7 miles from hence; the way thither lyes

* This Mr. Vernon was afterwards Secretary of State in William and Mary's, and Queen Anne's reign.—NOTE BY MR. SAINSBURY.

through a village called Loos-Duynen which is 3 miles from the Hague and is famous for that in that Church lyes buried the Countesse of Henneberge, with her 365 children, which were all baptized in two brasse bazins that they now show, and are placed over the inscription which is in Dutch and Latin; the same that your Worship hath read in severall books that mention it.* Not far from the Church they show a little round mount where the tradition is the Countess her house stood, & was swallowed up by the Earth that rises in that place; thence we went to the Prince's house which is reckoned the best in Holland. It was built by the Prince his Grandfather, but part of the outhouses & some ponds have been added since; the shape of the house is like Luxembourg at Paris, but it is nothing near so bigg and it is of bricke onely with some ornaments & trimming of stone-work; the staire case is upon the model of Luxembourg, but here they have remedied the want of light & had it painted by severall able masters; the house is built in water that I beleve the foundations of it must bee very expensive, but Wee had nobody to informe Our selves of but a Woman. All the first floore is Marble layd in severall squares; the Roomes are little enough for a Prince's house, the furniture ordinary but some good gold leather; the pictures many of them deserved admiration. &c.

J. VERNON.

J. Vernon to Jos. Williamson.

2 February 1671/2.

MOST HONOURED S^r

* * * * *

We came late to Harlem (in company with M^r Watson, M^r Parker & Major Scot) that we saw but little of it unless it were the Fish market, which is handsome & stands about the Church. The next day we made haste for Amsterdam where we arrived in the morning, it being but ten miles. Wee light at an English house where was Sir John Paul, M^r Banks, M^r Griffin of Hambrough and S^r George Downing's son with his companions, who have been now a weeke abroad. Wee went first to see a rarity of a man that broake glasses with his breath, which he did severall Rhenish wine glasses though held by an other with the strength of his mind he would make them ring, tremble & breake what was particular sounding to one glasse he

* See further, relating to this strange story, in "Coryat's Crudities," vol. iii. pp. 81-83, edition of 1776. — Eds.

said he found it was unequally made and then crying to it onely one piece of it flew out, whereas those that were more equall flew into shivers. The man himself is a lean ordinary man; he was a rich marchant & cracked, but now he sells wine & breaks glasses, and that they say hath made him whole again. He is otherwise ingenious, and whereas in Taverns here there are bells hung to call the people, here the pulling of the roap makes a noise imitating the cry of some Fowle. Hence we went to see a table of marble inlayd with Mother of pearle representing severall flowers & insects in the naturall Col^{rs} which charged to admiration, being looked upon in severall places; the fellow of it was sent as a present to the King of Japan & cost 6000^l sterlin; the Workeman hath been 30 years about them without intermission. Next Wee saw the great terrestriall globe all of Copper of 6 foot Diameter which is not to bee sold under 1500 pounds sterlin. Wee past by Tryps house the great Marchant here which cost him 12000 pounds before he brought it above ground. The next day We were to see the Admiralty where one enters with an Order. We were carried through all the chambers of the Stores which have their particular places assigned them, the sailes here, the ropes there, balls in another place, every thing in its order that it needs but open a doore in every chamber to throw every ships tackle into it, and in case of fire they can turne Cocks which will lett them in 1600 tun of water which is allways reserved on the top of the house for that use. The East India store house is near this, but Wee had not time to see both. Wee tooke a Boat & rowd round their men of warr which ly there to the number of 50, but most small ones; there was also of their great ones the Lyon, the Elephant, the Looking glasse &c. The Swiftsure lay here single, her backe is not broken but is as fitt to saile as any of the rest; the Lanterne of the Royall Charles is kept in the Admiralty house. Thence we went to see Admirall de Ruyter who lives there upon the Quay in a pretty house; he received us courteously and made us tast a glasse of Navarre wine a present lately made him by the Count de Guiche, he spoke all English and not ill. He told us hee was one of the oldest living that had been in the West Indies, where he was when a Boy with the first that went thither, and he is now 63 years old, yet he lookes very fresh coloured & lusty under his years, he looks & is drest perfect Citizen like, in a plaine velvet coat. Wee stayd but little with him, for it was the morning; he had invited us for the afternoone, but we were to be gone. Going from thence Wee saw Collonell Spellman, he that conquered

the Kingdom of Macassar, he is about 50 years old, a tall lusty man with a good bold looke. I saw some hospitals which are in all to the number of 50, for men women & children, that the Charity of Amsterdam is reckoned by some to equall the charity of the greatest part of France; for besides these publique houses which are well endowed, it is ordinary for great marchants upon the safe arrivall of their vessells to give two or 300 pounds to the poors purse. I saw the Exchange, their Bedlam, Spinhouse, Rasphouse & Stadthouse, which is to noble to bee attempted to bee described. My time was but short for these Gentlemens occasions called them to the Hague, so we left Amsterdam that Monday & came to Harlem the same night; the next morning Wee had just time to see the Stadthouse where are all the Earls of Holland painted, & the Earle of Hollands house, an old building where is some rare pieces of painting; above all one foot of a man which the Prince of Toscany offred 1500 pistols to cutt out from the piece; in the garden is the picture of him that they pretend to have invented printing first, one Maurice Castoreus, a gentleman of Haarlem in the year 1440. I saluted Mons^r Casteline the Gazetteer here from yo^r Worth who is full of all estime & respect for yo^r Worth. Wee left Haarlem that morning, wee past by those fields that are so famous for whitening of linnen, whether send all theirs, that all the summer time there bee many thousand Acres all covered, & here is a great wood which is the nearest they have to Amsterdam for the Citizens to come & divert themselves. Wee passed over the 3 great sluices that divide the salt & sweet sea, & came to the Hague on tuesday night. I shall in obedience to yo^r Worth commands sett forward for London on Saturday next. I hope to see Leyden & Rotterdam in the way.

I am, most Honoured S^r:

Your Worth most obedient & faithfull servant

J. VERNON.

HAGUE 2 Febr 72.

AUGUST MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, the 12th of August; Vice-President ASPINWALL, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

In the absence of the Librarian, the donations for the past month were announced by the Recording Secretary.

Among those especially noticed, was a copy of "The Official Correspondence on the Claims of the United States in respect to the 'Alabama,'" London, 1867, — presented by Mr. Adams. In reference to this publication, Mr. ADAMS remarked that it does not contain all the correspondence relating to the "Alabama" in which he took part, as the date upon the title-page of the volume would indicate. It was published by Lord Russell in vindication of himself.

The thanks of the Society were presented to Mr. Adams for the gift.

A copy of the original picture of the old house in Dock Square, built in 1680, and a copy of Paul Revere's picture of the Boston Massacre, were presented to the Society by Mr. William H. Keith, of Charlestown, for which the thanks of the Society were ordered.

Mr. WHITNEY read the following letter from Captain G. V. Fox, lately the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, addressed to Mr. Winthrop: —

LOWELL, MASS., July 10th, 1869.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

President Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

SIR, — Mr. H. A. Whitney, a member of your Society, is kind enough to inform me that it will be agreeable to yourself and associates to receive for preservation a number of rebel flags, which have been saved from those acquired during the rebellion by the navy under the administration of Mr. Welles.

Accordingly I have sent to him, for presentation to the Massachusetts Historical Society, eight flags, numbered and described as follows:—

No. 1. The flag of Fort Walker, Hilton Head, Port Royal, South Carolina. Captured by the naval forces under the command of Rear-Admiral S. F. Dupont, Nov. 7, 1861.

No. 2. A flag found amongst the property abandoned after the above action. It is supposed to be the State flag of South Carolina.

No. 3. The flag of Fort Henry, Tennessee River. Captured by the naval forces under the command of Rear-Admiral A. H. Foote, Feb. 6, 1862.

No. 4. The flag of Fort St. Philip, Mississippi River. Captured after the memorable forcing of the defences to New Orleans by the navy, under Admiral D. G. Farragut, April 24, 1862.

No. 5. The new flag adopted by the rebels in 1863. Captured by a naval force under the command of Commodore John Rodgers, June 17, 1863. An interesting letter from that distinguished officer, describing the capture of the iron-clad "Atlanta," is enclosed.

No. 6. The flag of the iron-clad "Tennessee." Captured by a naval force under the command of Admiral D. G. Farragut, on the day of his successful entrance into Mobile Bay, Aug. 5, 1864.

No. 7. The admiral's flag of the rebel Buchanan, who commanded the "Tennessee" in the above action.

No. 8. The flag of Fort Caswell, left flying upon the flagstaff of that fort, after its evacuation, consequent upon the capture of the defences of Cape Fear River by the United-States forces, under the command of Vice-Admiral D. D. Porter and Major-General A. H. Terry.

These are truly the flags which were forwarded to Washington, with the official reports announcing the victories which are enumerated. They were placed at my disposal by the Department, because it was deemed unadvisable to preserve at the National Capitol the evidences of internecine strife.

Most respectfully your obedient servant,

G. V. Fox.

The letter of Commodore John Rodgers, referred to, describing the capture of one of these flags (No. 5), under his command, here follows:—

U. S. NAVY YARD, BOSTON,
COMMANDANT'S OFFICE, June 14th, 1869.

SIR,—It gives me much pleasure to repeat the history of the Confederate flag in your possession, captured on-board the "Atlanta."

The history of the flag is so connected with the performance of the 15-inch guns, which you introduced into the service, that to tell the one involves some account of the other.

The previous flag of the Confederacy had been the stars and bars; but a strong current of adversity had set against the fortunes over which it waved, and the rebel government chose a new ensign.

I was told that this new flag was first hoisted in action on board the iron-clad "Atlanta."

The monitor "Weehawken," under my command, was sent to Warsaw Sound by Admiral Dupont, to prevent the rebel iron-clad "Atlanta" from getting to sea from Savannah by that passage. Subsequently the monitor "Nahant," Commander John Downes, was sent to the same place, to reinforce the "Weehawken."

On June 17, 1863, it was reported to me at daylight that the "Atlanta" was coming down the Wilmington river. I was incredulous, not believing that she would venture to attack two monitors; but a glance through a spy-glass convinced me that it was true.

We were riding to the flood-tide, heading towards the sea, without room to turn.

As before decided upon, in case an attack should be made while thus situated, we slipped the "Weehawken's" cable, and steamed down to a part of the channel which I had sounded and buoyed, in which the monitors could turn with a single sweep of the helm.

The "Nahant" commenced rapidly heaving up her anchor. The "Weehawken" passed the "Nahant" in going down, turned, and passed her in going up. The "Nahant" ran down necessarily to the same widening of the channel, turned as we had done, and came gallantly to our support. But her services were not needed. Captain Downes withheld his fire until he should be close alongside, under the impression that only then would his shot be effective. Before he reached the position he so zealously sought, the terrible 15-inch gun of the "Weehawken" had compelled the "Atlanta" to surrender.

At about three hundred yards from the "Atlanta," the "Weehawken" fired a 15-inch cored shot, weighing three hundred and forty pounds, with a charge of thirty pounds of powder.

I saw this shot strike on the side, and I saw splinters fly into the air. I learned, after the action, that it had driven about two barrels full of splinters of wood and iron into the vessel, these wounding every man of a gun's crew stationed opposite. It made a hole through the side, very ragged, but averaging six inches wide by three feet long; and it knocked down, by the mere concussion, some forty men, who lay upon the deck stunned, and as though dead.

The crew could not know that those insensible men were not killed.

Surprised at the novel effect of the huge shot employed against them, they ran below.

The next discharge was of two guns, the 11 and the 15-inch. The shot from one of these, I thought from the 15-inch, struck the top of the pilot-house, in which were four men, two pilots and two helmsmen. It crushed down the heavy wrought iron bars; and the four men fell stunned and helpless upon the floor, thus preventing the trap-door leading into the pilot-house from being raised, and thus cutting off access to the steering gear.

There remained no means of directing the course of the "Atlanta"; and the crew had deserted their quarters. She surrendered.

The first shot had taken away from the crew the wish to fight; the second had cut off the means of escape.

The flag in your possession, which had flown so confidently over the "Atlanta," was now hauled down, but was soon replaced by a smaller one, — a piece of white, hurriedly cut out of the lowered ensign.

This white symbol, seen through smoke, looked blue; and its character thus misunderstood, two more guns were fired; but they had no effect upon the action, since its result had been reached already.

The new flag had not changed the fortunes of the Confederacy. So quickly had the terrible ordnance done its work, that the "Nahant" had no opportunity of firing a shot.

Very truly yours,

JOHN RODGERS.

Hon. G. V. Fox.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Captain Fox for this valuable gift. The flags were exhibited in the room during the meeting.

The Chairman spoke of the decease, since the last meeting, of our associate, the Hon. William Brigham, and presented from the Standing Committee the following resolutions: —

Resolved, That this Society has heard with deep regret of the death of the Hon. William Brigham, and would here record their sense of the great loss which the Society has sustained thereby.

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint one from our number to write the memoir of our late associate, for the "Proceedings."

Mr. WATERSTON paid a fitting tribute to the character of Mr. Brigham, and the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Recording Secretary read the following letter from the President, in which mention is made of the death of Mr. Brigham, and also of the decease of our Corresponding Member, Mr. William Winthrop, late Consul at Malta:—

STOCKBRIDGE, 9th August, 1869.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Secretary Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I had previously intimated, I find it impossible for me to be at our Monthly Meeting on Thursday next.

I trust that some one or more of our associates will be prepared to pay a just tribute to our valued friend, William Brigham. I would name Dr. Robbins, his classmate, for the customary memoir, if the selection is left to me.

It is fit that I should announce, in a single word, the death of our Corresponding Member, William Winthrop, Esq., the late United-States Consul at Malta. His repeated and valuable contributions to our Library, of which still another is on the way, and a handsome bequest to our funds, which will come to us after the expiration of one or two lives,* entitle him to be remembered among our benefactors. But I must postpone all detailed notice of him until some future meeting.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D., was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. DEANE laid before the meeting the following communications from the Hon. John G. Palfrey:—

CAMBRIDGE, 1869, Aug. 3.

MY DEAR MR. DEANE,—You know that after the discomfiture of the *Stamp* project, the Sons of Liberty used to celebrate the anniversary of the enforced resignation of the distributor (Hutch. iii. 201). Possibly some future antiquary may like to inform himself as to the composition of the company which met for that purpose just a century ago, and which, it may be presumed, celebrated not less hilariously because within a fortnight they had seen the last of Governor Bernard. By placing the accompanying paper, if you think fit, in the Collections of the Historical Society, will you provide for the satisfaction of such a curiosity, should it arise?

Faithfully, dear sir, your friend and servant,

JOHN G. PALFREY.

*An Alphabetical List of the Sons of Liberty who dined at Liberty Tree, Dorchester
Aug. 14, 1789.**

A.

Adams, Samuel
Adams, John, Esq.
Avery, John, Esq.
Avery, John, Jr.
Appleton, Nath.
Austin, Benj., Esq.
Austin, Samuel
Ayres, Joseph
Abbot, Samuel
Avis, Samuel

B.

Brattle, Thos.
Bradford, John, Capt.
Bowes, Nicholas
Barber, Nath.
Bant, William
Boyer, Peter
Barrell, Joseph
Balch, Nath.
Blake, John, Capt.
Blanchard, Caleb
Brimmer, Martin
Brimmer, Hermon
Black, Andrew
Burt, Benjamin
Brigden, Zachary
Bowes, William
Bruce, Stephen
Bass, Moses Belcher
Bass, Henry
Boynton, Richard, Capt.
Breck, William
Barrett, Samuel
Bradford, Jos., Jr.
Brown, John
Baker, John
Brattle, Brig. General
Rowdoin, James, Hon.
Burdet, Benj.
Barnard, Benj.
Brackett, Joshua
Bell, William
Belcher, Sarson
Boardman, Wm.
Boweyer, Dan.
Bowman, Rev. Dan.
Barrett, John, Esq.
Burbeck, William
Billings, Richard
Brown, Enoch
Binney, Capt.
Bryant, James
Bryant, John

C.

Cushing, Mr. Speaker
Cooper, William
Cushing, John
Church, Benj.
Church, Benj., Jr.
Church, Edward
Clevery, Stephen
Carnes, Edward
Cobb, Capt.
Collins, Ezra
Copely, John
Cudworth, Benj.
Cudworth, Nath.
Cheever, Wm. Downe
Colson, David
Colson, Adam
Cunningham, Major
Cunningham, James
Chardon, Peter, Esq.
Cranch, Richard
Cunningham, Jno.
Cazneau, Andrew, Esq.
Carter, James
Cattle, Wm., Esq., *Carolina*.
Crofts, Thomas
Cheever, Ezek., Jr., Esq.
Chase, Thomas
Cunningham, William
Crane, John
Clap, Ebenezer
Cox, Lemuel
Carnes, Joseph

D.

Dana, Richard, Esq.
Dickinson, Mr., Brother to
the Farmer.
Dawes, Thomas, Capt.
Dennie, William
Davis, William
Deshon, Moses, Esq.
Dalton, James, Capt.
Dalton, Peter Roe
Davis, Edward
Dashwood, Capt.
Dorr, Ebenezer
Dorr, Harbottle
Dean, John, Capt.
Davis, Caleb
Davis, Aaron
Davis, Robert
Danforth, Samuel, Dr.
Davis, Solomon
Dolbeare, Benj.

Dorrington, John, Capt.
Dickman, William
Doane, Elisha, Major

E.

Erving, John, Hon.
Erving, George, Esq.
Edes, Benjamin
Edwards, John
Eliot, Deacon
Eliot, Joseph, Jr.
Edes, Thomas
Emmes, Samuel
Edwards, Alex.

F.

Freeman, Jon., Capt.
Fleet, Thomas
Fleet, John
Foster, Deacon
Foster, Timothy
Foster, Bossenger
Foster, William
Fitch, Timothy
Flagg, Josiah
Fowle, William
Farmer, Paul

G.

Greenleaf, William
Gore, John, Capt.
Gore, John, Jr.
Green, George
Gill, John
Gill, Moses
Grant, Samuel
Green, Francis
Gardner, Joseph, Dr.
Greenleaf, John
Gardner, John
Gridley, Col.
Green, Joshua
Green, Edward
Greenwood, Capt.
Griffiths, John
Gooding, Benj.
Griffen, Wm., Esq., of *Virginia*.
Green, John
Green, Joseph
Greenleaf, Oliver
Greenleaf, Stephen
Greene, Benj., Jr.

* This paper is in the handwriting of Col. William Palfrey, the grandfather of the Hon. J. G. Palfrey. — Eds.

Gray, William
 Griffin, Capt., *Newbury*.
 Gooding, Joseph
 Gray, Lewis
 Greston, John
 Green, Nath.
 Gardner, Thomas, Member
 for *Cambridge*.

H.

Hancock, John, Esq.
 Henshaw, Joshua, Esq.
 Hopkins, Caleb, Capt.
 Head, John
 Heath, William, Capt.
 Hill, Henry
 Henshaw, Joseph
 Henshaw, Joshua, Jr.
 Henderson, Joseph
 Hatch, Jabez
 Homer, John, Capt.
 Holmes, Benj. Mulbury
 Holmes, Nath.
 Hichborn, Thomas
 Hichborn, Thomas, Jr.
 Harris, Samuel
 Henchman, Samuel
 Haskins, John
 Henshaw, Andrew
 Hamock, Charles
 Hill, Alexander
 Hill, John, Esq.
 Holbrook, Samuel
 How, Samuel
 Houghton, John
 Hickling, William
 Hall, Joseph
 Homes, William, Esq.
 Henshaw, Daniel
 Hinckley, John
 Hunt, Mr., *Schoolmaster*.
 Harris, Stephen
 Harris, Stephen, Jr.
 Hinckley, Ebenezer
 Hoskins, William
 Hill, Dr.
 Hewes, Robert
 Honeywell, Richard
 Horry, Thomas

I, J.

Jackson, Joseph, Esq.
 Inches, Henderson
 Jeffries, John, Dr.
 Jarvis, Charles, Dr.
 Johonnot, Francis
 Jones, Deacon
 Jarvis, Edward
 Jackson, Joseph
 Ingraham, Duncan
 Jeffries, David, Esq.
 Johonnot, Zechary, Esq.
 Johonnot, Gabriel

Johonnot, Andrew
 Jones, William
 Ingersol, John
 Jenkins, John

K.

Kent, Benj., Esq.
 Knox, Thomas
 Knox, Thomas
 Kennedy, William
 Kneeland, Barth.

L.

Langdon, John
 Lucas, John
 Lovell, James
 Lasinby, Joseph
 Langdon, John, Jr.
 Langdon, Timothy
 Leach, John
 Laggett, Thomas
 Loring, John
 Loring, Caleb
 Leverett, John, Capt.
 Leverett, Thomas
 Lowell, John

M.

Mason, Jonathan
 Marshall, Thomas, Colonel
 Marston, John, Capt.
 May, John
 May, Ephraim
 Malcom, Daniel, Capt.
 Matchett, John, Capt.
 Molineaux, William
 May, Aaron
 McDaniel, Jacob
 Morton, Joseph
 Morton, Dimond
 McDaniel, Hugh
 Miller, Charles
 McLain, John

N.

Noyes, Nathaniel

O.

Otis, James, The Hon. jr.
 Otis, Samuel Allyne
 Otis, Joseph

P.

Pemberton, Samuel, Esq.
 Partridge, Samuel, Capt.
 Pitts, John
 Pitts, James, The Hon.
 Pitts, William

Pitts, James Jr.
 Palfrey, William
 Prince, Job, Capt.
 Parker, Daniel
 Perkins, James, Jr.
 Peck, Thomas Handasyd
 Patten, William, Capt.
 Peirpont, Robert
 Proctor, Edward
 Proctor, Samuel
 Pool, Fitch
 Pulling, John, Jr.
 Price, Thos. Maurice, Capt.
 Pico, Joshua
 Palmes, Richard
 Pecker, James, Dr.
 Price, Ezekiel
 Proctor, John
 Phillips, William, Esq.
 Pierce, Isaac
 Power, Mr., *Carolina*.
 Pierce, Mr., *Carolina*.

Q.

Quincy, Samuel, Esq.
 Quincy, Josiah

R.

Ruddock, John, Esq.
 Revere, Paul
 Rand, Isaac, Dr.
 Ray, Caleb
 Richardson, James
 Reid, Mr., Secretary to Gov.
 Franklin, *Jerseys*.
 Read, William, Esq.
 Ruggles, Samuel
 Robinson, Lemuel
 Ratcliffe, Mr., *Carolina*.
 Roberts, Peter

S.

Swift, Samuel, Esq.
 Sweetser, John, Jr.
 Smith, John
 Spear, Nathan
 Spear, David
 Salter, Richard
 Savage, Habijah
 Savage, John
 Smith, William
 Symmes, Eb., Capt.
 Symmes, John
 Spooner, William
 Sharp, Gibbins
 Scott, John
 Simpson, Ebenezer
 Snelling, Jona., Major
 Sprague, John, Dr.
 Spooner, George
 Soley, John
 Scollay, John, Esq.

Storey, Elisha, Dr.
 Sellon, Samuel
 Seaver, Ebenezer
 Surcomb, Richard
 Stanbridge, Henry
 Scott, William
 Searle, Samuel
 Stoddard, Jonathan
 Scott, James, Capt.

T.

Trott, George
 Trott, Jonathan
 Turner, William
 Thompson, Major
 Trott, Samuel
 Trott, Thomas
 Turell, Joseph
 Tyler, Joseph

Tyler, Royal, Hon.
 Tyler, Thomas, Esq.
 Tileston, Capt.
 Thompson, James
 Tuckerman, Edward
 Tileston, John
 Tileston, Thomas

V.

Vose, Joseph
 Vernon, Fortescue

W.

Whitwell, Samuel
 Welles, Arnold, Esq.
 Waldo, Joseph
 Wendell, John Mico
 Wendell, Oliver

Welsh, John
 Warren, Joseph, Dr.
 Webb, Joseph
 Walley, Thomas
 Waldo, Daniel
 Wyer, Robert, Capt.
 Whitwell, William
 Wheelwright, Job
 Wheatly, Nath.
 Waldo, John
 Wendell, Jacob
 Waters, Josiah, Capt.
 White, Benjamin
 Williams, Joseph, Colonel
 White, William, Capt.

Y.

Young, Thomas, Dr.
 855, — about 300 dined.

Mr. WATERSTON here introduced to the meeting Mr. William H. Dall, who gave an interesting account of his explorations, at the head of a scientific corps, among the Rocky Mountains, embracing the "Alaskan Range." He exhibited and presented to the Society a map from a drawing made at the United-States Coast Survey Office, under his direction, from his own surveys, which had been photographed from the drawing.

The thanks of the Society were presented to Mr. Dall for the map and for his interesting remarks.

Mr. PARKMAN exhibited copies from some interesting unpublished maps of the Mississippi, and the Western lakes and rivers, made chiefly by the early Jesuit missionaries, recently procured in Paris.

On motion of Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, it was —

Voted, That Mr. Parkman be requested to prepare a paper on these maps for the Society's "Proceedings."

Mr. PARKMAN stated that he should be quite willing to prepare an account of these maps, with fac-similes of them as suggested; but he was now engaged in publishing a work which would embrace much of this material.

Mr. WATERSTON, as the chairman of a committee from the Natural History Society, called the attention of the members

to the approaching celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the birth of Alexander von Humboldt, who was at the time of his death an Honorary Member of the Society, and suggested that those who thought of attending should secure seats together at the Music Hall, where the address by Professor Agassiz, was to be delivered.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, September 9, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; Vice-President ASPINWALL in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library for the past month.

The Cabinet-keeper read a list of the donations to the Cabinet for the past month. These included a pair of tongs once owned by the family of Thomas Hutchinson; also a war-club from the Sandwich Islands, brought thence by Captain William Ballard, of Boston; given by his grandson, Mr. William Ballard, of Brooklyn, N.Y., through Mr. John J. May, of Boston.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from M. Thiers, of Paris; and from Mr. William S. Appleton and the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, of Boston.

Mr. DAVIS spoke of the Montcalm letters which had been the subject of a communication from Mr. Parkman at the June meeting, in one of which appeared some remarkable predictions of historical events in this country, of sufficient importance to attract the attention of Mr. Carlyle in his "History of Frederic the Great." Mr. Davis said that Carlyle was mistaken in supposing, as he seemed to do, that

these predictions originated with Montcalm. They undoubtedly represented the common belief of all the French and many of the English statesmen of that day. As early as 1748, according to Bancroft, it was "announced by reasoning men in New York that the conquest of Canada, by relieving the Northern colonies from danger, would hasten their emancipation"; and this opinion was published in Europe by a Swedish traveller who heard it that year in America. Similar opinions were expressed during the negotiations which led to the peace of 1762, by Choiseul and Vergennes, by William Burke, by the anonymous writer of a letter from a gentleman in Guadaloupe, and by many others.

MR. DEANE presented to the Library, in the name of the author, a book of 323 pages in the Spanish language, entitled "Historia Secreta de la Mision del ciudadano Norte-Americano Charles A. Washburn, cerca del Gobierno de la República del Paraguay. Por el Ciudadano Americano, Traductor titular (*in partibus*) de la misma Mision: Porter Cornelio Bliss, B.A."

Mr. Deane stated some of the circumstances, as communicated to him by Mr. Bliss, under which this fictitious narrative was written by the latter in Paraguay, while in a state of duress from the tyranny of Lopez.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, October 15, by invitation of our associate, Mr. Lawrence, and with the concurrence of the Standing Committee, at his house in "Longwood"; the President, the Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D., of Staunton, Va.

Thomas B. Akins, Esq., of Halifax, N.S., and Pierre Margry, of Paris, were elected Corresponding Members.

The President, referring to the death of the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, spoke as follows:—

The Rev. Joseph Barlow Felt died at Salem, which was also his birthplace, on the 8th of September last. He had been a member of this Society for nearly forty years, having been elected in 1830, and having become the second, in order of election, on our living Resident roll. During this period, he was a member of the Standing Committee for one year, a member of the Committee of Publication for four successive volumes of our Collections, and Librarian for fourteen years. In all these relations he rendered the Society faithful and valuable services. But his labors as an antiquarian and historian had a wider range. His *Annals of Salem*, his *History of Ipswich*, *Hamilton and Essex*, his *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, and his *History of Massachusetts Currency*, are important contributions to the work in which we are engaged, and evince the greatest industry and the most careful research. As a Commissioner, too, appointed by Governor Everett, for arranging and classifying the ancient State papers, in the archives of the Commonwealth, in which capacity he visited England to procure duplicates or copies of papers, which were missing from the files of the State, he performed a most laborious and important work for illustrating and preserving the history of Massachusetts. His *Memoirs of Roger Conant*, *Hugh Peters*, of *Francis Higginson*, and of *William S. Shaw*, his *Customs of New England*, and his *Collections for the American Statistical Association*, furnish additional testimony to his patient and painstaking pursuit of historical studies. Educated to the ministry, he was for many years a devoted pastor of Congregational Parishes at Sharon, and at Hamilton, in

Massachusetts, and had received the title of Doctor of Divinity. His later years, however, were devoted to historical and literary labors, in recognition of which he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Dartmouth College, which he had entered as a student in 1809.

Born on the 22d of December, in the year 1789, Dr. Felt had almost completed his eightieth year, and death must have been a welcome release to one whose Christian faith and upright life had given him so good a hope beyond the grave.

With the authority of the Standing Committee, I propose the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society desire to enter upon their records their deep sense of the valuable and faithful services in the cause of New-England History of their late respected Associate, Dr. Felt; and that the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a memoir of him for our Proceedings.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Rev. Dr. Dexter was appointed to prepare the customary memoir.

The President also spoke as follows concerning the decease of our Corresponding Member, Mr. William Winthrop, of Malta, which had been announced at the August meeting by Vice-President Aspinwall:—

Absence from the State prevented me from being present at either the August or September meetings of the Society. I should otherwise have added a few words to the simple announcement which was made by my friend, Colonel Aspinwall, of the death of one of our Corresponding Members,—Mr. William Winthrop, late Consul of the United States at Malta. Mr. Winthrop was a son of the late James Andrews, Esq., of Boston. His mother, whose family name he had adopted, was in lineal descent from John Winthrop, the Massachusetts Governor, by Margaret Tyndal, the saintly wife who followed him to America in 1631. He was a great-nephew of Judge James Winthrop, one of the eight original founders of this Society.

It was this latter consideration, not unmingled, as I have reason to believe, with a kind regard for myself, which led him to make the Society the object of such bounty as his not very ample fortune allowed him to bestow. He has presented to us, during the last ten or twelve years, about 350 printed volumes, 230 volumes in manuscript, and 150 pamphlets. Some of these books and pamphlets have reached us since his death, it having been one of the last labors of his life—for it was a labor, though a labor of love, in his enfeebled health—to make up two parcels of books as a parting contribution to our library.

But his regard for our welfare and our wants did not end there. In his last will and testament, executed shortly before his death, he charged his executors, after the death of his wife and his brothers and sisters, to whom his estate was primarily given, to pay to this Society the sum of three thousand dollars, to be held in trust as a fund for binding the old papers and pamphlets,—a fund which will come into our possession at no very distant day, and which will be welcomed by us all, whenever it comes, or by those who shall succeed to our places, as a most important and useful addition to our resources.

Mr. Winthrop was for nearly thirty-five years the Consul of the United States at Malta, and in that capacity rendered faithful service to his country, and displayed great kindness and hospitality to Americans visiting that interesting island of the Mediterranean. He had a strong taste for antiquarian and historical pursuits, contributed frequently to the well-known English periodical, entitled "Notes and Queries," and edited more than one, I believe, of the Camden Society's volumes. He died on the third day of July last, in the sixty-first year of his age; and his funeral obsequies were attended by a great concourse of the local authorities, and of the friends and acquaintances, to whom his many amiable qualities had endeared him.

I venture to propose that the President be requested to express to his afflicted widow the grateful sense we cannot fail to cherish of his liberal benefactions to this Society, and of the respect we entertain for his memory.

Whereupon it was *voted*, That the President be requested to communicate to Mrs. Winthrop, the widow of our late Corresponding Member, an expression of our condolence and acknowledgment.

The President read the following communication from our associate, Mr. Whitmore, relative to the Rev. John Hutchinson, of England, with notices of other members of the family:—

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

DEAR SIR,— Having observed that the death of one of our Corresponding Members, the Rev. John Hutchinson, has not yet been formally brought to the notice of the Society, I beg leave to communicate the few facts relative to his life which I have been able to collect.

Mr. Hutchinson had a certain hereditary claim to membership here as being the grandson of the famous historian. He insured it by his exertions to give to the public the concluding volume of the History of Massachusetts. As this Society was the main agent in bringing about the renewal of friendly relations with the descendants of the most distinguished Royalist of the Revolution, a brief recapitulation of the steps will be given.

In 1814, the Society proposed to print Hubbard's History (see Coll. 2d ser. vol. ii. p. 283), and therefore applied to the descendants of Chief Justice Peter Oliver in England for the use of a transcript made by him. This application was refused by Dr. Peter Oliver in an injudicious letter published in the Collections, 2d ser. vol. iii. pp. 288-9. At this time, however, a communication was received from Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., son of Governor Hutchinson, and father of our late associate. In 1818, the Society passed a vote requesting the representatives of Governor Hutchinson to publish the third volume of his History of Massachusetts Bay; and in the preface to that book (London, 1828) will be found copies of the letters sent to England by Charles Lowell, John Davis, and Christopher Gore, Esquires, in aid of this request. At that time Elisha Hutchinson was chosen a Corresponding Member of the Society, his election being dated 27th April, 1820; but his advanced age prob-

ably prevented Mr. Hutchinson from taking any active measures towards publishing the volume, and he died at Blurton Parsonage, 24th June, 1824, aged 80.

His son, the Rev. John Hutchinson, completed the work; and the third volume was published in London, by Murray, in 1828. The publication was greatly facilitated by the exertions of our valued associate, the Hon. James Savage, who "secured the private circulation of five hundred copies of the volume in America," as the editor acknowledged in his preface. (See a paper on "Hutchinson's Historical Publications," in "Proceedings" for 1857, pp. 144-6.)

It would be superfluous to remark at length upon the value of this continuation of Hutchinson's History. The enterprise of its editor was one which entitled him to all the honors which this Society could bestow. This work, however, was the only event in the life of our late member which brought him in contact with the American public. How useful and laborious he was in his chosen profession will be best shown by the following memoir published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" soon after his decease:—

"1865, April 27th. Died at Blurton Parsonage, Staffordshire, aged 71, the Rev. John Hutchinson, M.A., Incumbent of Blurton and Canon of Lichfield. He was ordained and licensed to the Curacy of Trentham in 1817; and from that date till his decease, a period of forty-eight years, the parish of Trentham continued to be the scene of his various and unremitting labors in behalf of the people under his pastoral charge. When he entered upon the discharge of his duties as Curate of Trentham, the only churches of the parish were the mother-church of Trentham and the chapel of ease at Blurton. Hanford Church was built in 1827; and this afforded, it is believed, the first and only instance of the consecration of a church in North Staffordshire for thirty-five years. The Church of the Holy Evangelists provided for the inhabitants of the district of Normacot (a district assigned to Blurton), and built at the sole cost of the late Duke of Sutherland, was consecrated in 1847; and he was subsequently instrumental in procuring the erection of seven others. He labored hard in the work of church education; and, as a Canon, he entered warmly into the restoration of Lichfield Cathedral, the revision of its statutes, and the promotion of the Diocesan Choral Union. He edited the third volume of Governor Hutchinson's 'History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay,' published by Murray in 1828."

It may be proper to add here a few notes relating to the descendants of Gov. Hutchinson, by his wife Margaret Sanford. He had two

sons and one daughter, who married and left issue.* Of these, the second son, Elisha Hutchinson, was a graduate of Harvard in 1762; afterwards a merchant, and one of the obnoxious consignees of the cargoes of tea sent to Boston. He was a refugee, and passed the remainder of his life in England. As already mentioned, he was a Corresponding Member of this Society. He married Mary, daughter of Col. George Watson, of Plymouth, Mass.,† by whom he had five children. The only son who continued the line was the Rev. John Hutchinson, Canon of Lichfield, who married, in 1836, Martha Oliver Hutchinson, daughter of his first cousin, Rev. William Hutchinson. The issue of this marriage were two daughters and one son: the latter, John Rogers Hutchinson, was born in 1848.

Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., eldest son of the Governor, had three sons, — Thomas, Andrew, and (Rev.) William. Of these, Thomas (third) had Thomas, who d. s. p., and Frederick Oliver, who has a large family. Andrew was the father of Young Bingham Hutchinson and Peter Orlando Hutchinson, the latter of whom has recently written to "Notes and Queries" in relation to the family papers in his possession.‡ The Rev. William Hutchinson had sons, William P. H. and Henry S., and several grandsons. The family bids fair to continue for future generations.

Mr. DENNY, the Cabinet-keeper, announced as a gift to the Cabinet, a framed photograph, finely finished in India ink, of the members of the Society, taken in June last as they were assembled at the house of the President in Brookline, — presented by the President.

Mr. DEANE presented in the name of Miss M. Wheaton, of Cambridge, daughter of the late Henry Wheaton, a small cabinet picture, said to be a portrait of Benjamin Franklin. It was presented to Mr. Wheaton as such, about the year 1845, in Bamberg, Bavaria, by the United-States Consul.

* William Sanford Hutchinson, third and youngest son of Governor Hutchinson, was born at Milton, July 30, 1752; was graduated at Harvard College in 1770; embarked for England with his father June 1, 1774, accompanied by Margaret, an unmarried daughter of Governor H. William died in 1780, only a few months before the death of his father, — probably unmarried. — Eds.

† Mrs. Mary Hutchinson was the sister of Mrs. Martin Brimmer, and of the wife of Sir Grenville Temple.

‡ Mr. Peter O. Hutchinson published, in 1867, a pamphlet relating to his family, from which I have taken the above items.

The grateful acknowledgments of the Society were ordered for the gift.

Mr. LAWRENCE made the following remarks :—

There are some reminiscences connected with this place which will have an interest to this Society.

On this very spot, a portion of the Sewall farm, were encamped Colonel Prescott's regiment, and a regiment from Rhode Island, from the time of the battle of Bunker Hill until the evacuation of Boston, nine months afterward. They built and garrisoned the large fortification overlooking Charles River, a few rods to the north of this, which was partially destroyed by the building of the Worcester Railroad, but which remained in part for many years after this settlement was formed in 1850.

The headquarters of Colonel Prescott were at the house of Mr. Wolcott, a son-in-law of Mr. Henry Sewall, now occupied by Mr. Charles Stearns, half a mile west of this, on Beacon Street, distinguished by its large elms. All around here have been found the traces of this occupation, especially in the grove on the north side of the house.

The Sewall farm belonged, in 1739, to Samuel Sewall, who was the son of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall. Henry, who was the owner in 1775, adhered to the Royal cause and left Boston. His estate was confiscated and lost to his family, except a portion which was recovered by his daughter after the war. In the garden are the signs of ancient cultivation ; and especially noticeable are two pear-trees of a remarkable size.

This neighboring fortification was one of the line of redoubts which surrounded Boston during the siege. The next one on the north-east is on the opposite side of the river, in Cambridge, and is still perfect. The next, on the other side, could be seen until a few years since, east of Muddy Creek, in what is now called Appleton Place, in Roxbury.

After the war, Colonel Prescott came with his son, William (afterward Judge), and visited Mr. Wolcott. At that time the father pointed out the objects which most interested him in this vicinity and at Bunker Hill, to his son. Many years after, the Judge pointed them out to Mr. Ebenezer Francis, the owner of this estate (himself the son of an officer who was killed at Lake George); and he gave the same information to me in 1849. It was the more interesting to me because my grandfather, living in Groton, was a devoted neighbor of Colonel Prescott, and was serving here as his adjutant in 1775.

The President presented a printed copy of a letter of the Jesuit missionary, Father Gabriel Druillettes, addressed to John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, in January, 1651, while Druillettes was on a visit to Boston and its neighborhood. For an account of his visit, see "Proceedings" for June, 1855, p. 33, and "Collections of the New York Historical Society," Second Series, Vol. III., part 1, p. 314. The letter, which was written in Latin, was discovered among the family papers of the President, and is printed by Joel Munsell, of Albany, with an introduction in French, by John G. Shea, LL.D., of New York. The President also presented the original manuscript to the Society. The following English translation of the letter was read by him to the meeting.

To the Illustrious Sir John Winthrop, Esquire,

AT PEQUOTT RIVER.

EXCELLENT SIR, by me much to be respected,

SINCE the deep snow of winter now at hand will prevent my having the privilege of waiting upon you, and setting forth at greater length how much is expected from your singular goodness of heart by the very honorable Governor of New France, in Canada, near Quebec, who has appointed me his ambassador to all the magistrates in your New England: I come into your presence by these letters, begging and beseeching you, by that tutelar deity of greatest good-will towards all, especially towards our New France, which Master Win-

thorp, of happiest and kindest memory among all men, left surviving in you as his only heir, not to refuse your patronage to the cause which has brought me to these shores. For, indeed, it is a cause which your father, of sweetest memory, undertook, in the year 1647, by letters which he gave in the name of your Commonwealth to our Lord the Governor of New France at Quebec; and which he would long since have accomplished, as I learn from many men of weight, had not death prevented. The great and good God ordered thus, I think, that we might be indebted to you for the happy issue of that cause whose inception and beginning we owed to your father, whose memory we shall always greatly cherish. I had explained more at large this cause before the Governors in Boston and Plymouth, and was expecting to undertake, with prayers of them all, a journey to the country where you are now living; and the troublous snows did not so much stop me as the authority of many men of station to whom I owe respect, who dissuaded me and recalled me from Plymouth to Boston. Your kindness to foreigners, however uncivilized they might be, gave me so much hope that my rudeness of speech (for I have spent nine years among the savages, teaching in the forests, far from intercourse with Europeans) would find no cause for fear of you. Nay, I thought there was nothing I might not hope from your kindness known among all men, and your wonderful operation of Piety and Religion towards the Indian catechumens of Christian faith and profession; verily they are beyond all other mortals that hundredth sheep, wandering and lost in the desert, which alone, leaving the ninety and nine, the Lord Jesus Christ seeks with great loving anxiety, that, having found it, He may place it, rejoicing, on His shoulders (Luke xv.). The man who burns with zeal for that same Lord Jesus Christ must, in the tenderest embrace of his heart, enfold that hundredth sheep on which alone the great Teacher, the Lord Jesus, seems to have spent all His love. And your tender love to your — because Christ's — beloved, the savage catechumens, makes me easily believe that this my testimony by letters, however slight it may be, of a grateful mind and of my trust in you, will not be displeasing in your eyes: wherefore, suffer me to implore by letter your Patronage, on which, I think, almost all my hope after God must be rested, in the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the defence of the Christians against the Mohawks; who not only have been, for a long time, attacking the Christians in Canada, near Quebec, and most cruelly torturing them by slow fire, in hatred of the Christian Faith, but now intend (with great

slaughter) to destroy my Kennebeck catechumens, living on the banks of that river, because they have been (for many years) the allies of the Canadian Christians. For this reason, our honorable Governor at Quebec commands me to offer you, in his name, the most ample commerce and a large contribution to the expenses of the war, if he obtains from New England some auxiliary force for the defence of the Canadian Christians against the Mohawks, which he undertook a long time since, and which, by a united effort, he desires, from his love for the Indian Christians, to push forward in favor of the catechumens at Kennebec, his allies, who are inhabitants of New England, and the peculiar clients of the Plymouth colony.

Wherefore he hopes, that just as your Connecticut colony allayed the fury of the Narragansetts in favor of your clients on the Pequot river, the Mohigens, — so with equal justice the Plymouth colony will, with the consent of the court they call the commissioners, undertake war against the Mohawks, the cruel enemy of their clients at Kennebec and their allies in Canada, the Christians at Quebec.

A friend, to whom I have for the purpose given a copy to be sent to you, will add to my letter an abstract, translated from my very barbarous Latin into English, of my double embassy, in the name of our Lord Governor of New France at Quebec, and, separately in the name of the Indians, Christian catechumens at Kennebeck. Therefore I add no more, but beg you by your kindness to the savages and your famed love to the poor of Jesus Christ, to explain at length the whole affair to your general court, which, I hear, is usually held in Hartford, in the month of June, and to push it forward among your own magistrates; and to use your endeavors to commend a favorable decision to those two delegates of your colony whom you call commissioners, when they go to the place where the commissioners' court is held. Meanwhile, wherever on this earth the Lord Jesus, who has appointed me to spend my life and meet my death in teaching these savages, shall place me, I will live and die for your whole family; especially, excellent Sir, I am bound closely to you in the Lord Jesus, for Whom, because I do it for His brethren the Indian Christians, I am acting as ambassador.

GABRIEL DRUILLETES, S. J.,

Priest and Teacher in Kennebec.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, November 11, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter (dated May 15, 1869) from James W. Sever and Charles Faulkner, a committee of the New South Church, stating that at a meeting of the proprietors of said Church the following votes were unanimously passed:—

"*Voted*, That the Records of the New South Church and Society be deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society for safe-keeping, subject to the order of the Proprietors.

"*Voted*, That the articles deposited under the corner-stone of the New South Meeting-house, in Summer Street, be *presented* to the Massachusetts Historical Society as a memorial of the New South Church, on the condition that said articles be kept together in the Cabinet of the Society, with a proper label indicating their character."

The Committee proceed to say, that, "in compliance with the above votes, the committee specially authorized for this purpose herewith send to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for deposit and safe-keeping, four volumes of the Records of the Proprietors of the New South Meeting-house, in Boston, from its organization July 14th, 1715, to June, 1850; also, five books connected with the Treasurer's department, containing the valuation of pews, assessment of taxes, &c. They also have the pleasure to *present* to the Historical Society the silver-plate placed under the corner-stone of the church when rebuilt, at the junction of Summer and Bedford Streets, in 1814; and regret to add, that the quarter-eagle in gold, and the American silver and copper coins, from a dollar down to half a cent, deposited by the Rev. Mr. Thacher, together with the silver-plate, as appears by the Records of the Society, were not delivered to the Committee by the persons in charge of the demolition of the church."

Whereupon it was —

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary be requested to communicate to James W. Sever, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of the New South Church, the thanks of the Society for the *deposit* of four volumes of the Records of the Proprietors of the New South Meeting-house, and five books connected with the Treasurer's department; and also for the *donation* of various articles deposited under the corner-stone of the New South Meeting-house, — all which books and articles the Society gratefully accepts on the condition proposed by the Proprietors.*

The President then spoke as follows: —

The ocean cable has informed us, gentlemen, within a few days past, of the death of our great American philanthropist, George Peabody; and we have just learned, through the same magic medium, that his funeral is to be solemnized to-morrow, in Westminster Abbey, by order of the Queen.

Meantime, as you all know, the public journals of our city, and of the whole country, have already recalled to remembrance — if, indeed, it could ever have been forgotten — the whole story of his extraordinary life, from its humble origin at Danvers, in our own Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on the 18th of February, 1795, to its lamented close, in London, on the evening of Thursday last, the 4th of November.

Nothing could well be added at this moment to these spontaneous attestations to his marvellous career and his matchless munificence. Nothing, certainly, needs to be added for his own fame. His all-sufficient and only sufficient commemoration will be found in the noble institutions which he has established or endowed in both hemispheres, and in the blessings which will be breathed upon his name, generation after

* See "Proceedings" for May, 1868, p. 207, where is a record of the *presentation* of the original records and papers of the New South Church, of which the above communication is a modification. They are now "*deposited*." — Eds.

generation to the end of time, from the grateful hearts of those to whose welfare his exhaustless bounty will have ministered.

I cannot trust myself to say more of him on this occasion, when we are waiting to receive his precious remains, and to accompany them to the spot selected by himself for their last repose, amid the scenes of his birth and childhood, and near to the graves of his father and mother. I may perhaps find an opportunity, here or elsewhere, at some future day — when I am less oppressed by the loss of one who had so honored me of late by his closest confidence and friendship, and for whom I must ever cherish so warm an affection — to offer a more deliberate tribute to his memory. But I must be pardoned for confining myself now to the simplest official announcement of the event to this Society, of which he was both an honorary member and a munificent benefactor, that it may be entered in due form upon our records, and that we may not seem insensible to the close of a career — to the going down of a sun — which has shed so pure, so brilliant, and so enduring a radiance on the history, not only of our own Commonwealth and country, but of the age in which we live.

Mr. WINTHROP then submitted the following Resolution from the Standing Committee: —

Resolved, That by the death of George Peabody this Society has lost one of its most honored members and benefactors; — a man who, nobly preferring to dispense with his living hand the abundant fruits of patient and sagacious industry, has laid up treasure in the hearts of two great nations, and dying has bequeathed an inspiring example to both; — who has sought to heal the wounds of war and spread the arts of peace; to bring knowledge to the people and comfort to the poor; — who has planted establishments of science and resorts of study; — and whose republican simplicity was unshaken by the applauses of the multitude and the attentions of the great.

The Resolution was seconded by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, who made some interesting statements respecting

Mr. Peabody's charities in London. Ex-Governor Clifford and Colonel Aspinwall also addressed the meeting, and the Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The President was requested to forward a copy of the Resolution to the family of Mr. Peabody.

The President read a letter from Mr. Secretary Fish, stating that he had sent to the Society a number of maps,—being photo-lithographic copies of the detailed maps of the North-West Boundary, from Point Roberts to the Rocky Mountains, between the United States and the British Possessions, under the treaty of June 15, 1846,—Nos. 1-7.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for the gift.

Mr. Theodore Lyman, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member.

The President read an account of the stone image, called the "Cardiff giant," said to have been recently discovered at Cardiff, near Syracuse, N.Y., from the "Worcester Daily Spy," written by our associate, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, which elicited remarks from Drs. Bigelow and Green.

Mr. APPLETON exhibited a number of engravings of pictures of Hugh Peters, and a photograph of a painting of him, exhibited last year at the South Kensington Museum, differing from the common portraits of Peters.

A recently engraved copy of an early map of Boston by Burgess, of date 1728, was presented by Mayor Shurtleff.

A new work, by our associate, Mr. Parkman, entitled "The Discovery of the Great West," was presented by him.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held this day, Thursday, 9th December, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting.

The Librarian read a list of the donors to the Library, which included Mr. Savage, the senior member of the Society, in whose name a number of valuable manuscripts and pamphlets were presented by his daughter, Mrs. Rogers.

The Corresponding Secretary said he had received a letter of acceptance from Mr. Theodore Lyman, who was present at this meeting.

Mr. Edmund Quincy, of Dedham, was elected a Resident Member.

A copy of a lithographic portrait of the late Mr. George Peabody was presented by the publisher, Mr. A. Trochsler, of Boston.

The President read the following memorandum from Mr. Henry Gillman, of Detroit, presenting a number of interesting relics to the Society:—

The following named relics appearing more in keeping with the objects of the Historical Society, I have reserved them from among those deposited at the Peabody Museum.

No. 9. A portion of the flag-staff of Old Fort Mackinac (Michilimackinac), on the south shore of the Straits of Mackinac. When the writer in 1851 visited the site, so interesting from its historical associations, nothing remained on the bleak sandy point to denote the original works, save a few shapeless mounds, and the remnants of the pickets which once formed the sally-port, near which was the stump of the flag-staff, projecting about two feet above ground. These last were fast being undermined by the waters of the Straits which washed within a

few feet of them, and in stormy weather swept clear over them, so that, in all probability, they have long since disappeared. The great massacre occurred on June 4, 1763. The place has not been occupied, since about ten years after that. See Schoolcraft's "N. A. Indians," with Mr. Henry's singular narrative, and other works.

No. 10. Stemless brass button with initials R. A., and figure 2 enclosed by wreath; found a few years ago on a lot near the site of the old Fort at Detroit — now one of the most thickly settled parts of the city. The initials no doubt denote Royal Artillery, and this button probably dates back to the occupation of the British.

No. 28. Copy of map of "The Town and Fortifications of Detroit, as they stood before the year 1796. T. Smith, 30 May, 1816 (Copy)." This shows the town as it was in the time of the British occupation, all standing within pickets, which was rendered necessary by the Indians. Among other interesting details, it shows the position of the river Savoyard, — a stream which then ran through the town, and was large enough for the citizens and their wives to amuse themselves on in their canoes of a summer evening; but which has long since disappeared through the march of improvement.

HENRY GILLMAN.

December 6, 1869.

A new book, entitled the "Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition," was presented by the author, our associate, Dr. Hedge.

A memoir of the late Col. T. B. Lawrence was presented by Mr. Abbott Lawrence, through the Librarian.

Mr. Adams exhibited, and afterwards presented to the Society, a manuscript, labelled "Tory Account of Whig Characters before the War," dated London, 18th April, 1775. He read some portions of the paper, which he thought, on the whole, hardly came up to the dignity of an historical document.

The President presented a quantity of paper money of the Colonial period.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for the various gifts presented at this meeting.

The President made some remarks, and read a number of communications relative to the recent alleged discovery of a

petrification or ancient statue, called the "Cardiff giant," among which was the following from the Rochester "Daily Union":—

THE CARDIFF GIANT A HUMBUG.

Prof. O. C. Marsh, who occupies the chair of Palæontology in Yale College, has lately examined the "Cardiff Giant," and the "Buffalo Courier" is permitted to publish a letter written from this city by him to a friend containing his views thereon. From such a source opinions are entitled to great weight on such a subject, and it must be admitted that the testimony of Prof. Marsh finally settles the claim of the monstrosity to be of antique origin. The following is the letter:—

ROCHESTER, Nov. 24, 1869.

Dear —, — I saw the "Cardiff Giant" last evening, and in accordance with your request I will tell you what I think of it, although I can now only give you my conclusions. The reasons for them would make a longer letter than I have at present time to write.

By especial permission of the proprietors, I was allowed to make a more careful examination of the statue than is permitted to most visitors, and a very few minutes sufficed to satisfy me that my first suspicions in regard to it were correct; viz., that it is of very recent origin, and a most decided humbug.

The figure is cut from a block of gypsum, similar to that found in Onondaga county, and at other localities of the Salina formation in the State further west.

The peculiar position of the body and limbs, which has occasioned so much remark, was apparently determined in a great measure, by the form of the block of stone, which was water-worn on at least three of its sides before the sculptor began his work. These rough water-worn surfaces were not entirely removed in cutting. Portions of them still remain on the sides of the head, and on the limbs and feet, and have erroneously been regarded as indicating for the work a high antiquity.

The tool-marks are still very distinct on different parts of the statue, especially where they have not been obliterated by the imperfect polishing which evidently completed the work. On the more prominent portions of the figure these marks appear as small pointed depressions, but in the less exposed places, where the polishing was more carelessly done, or omitted, they are nearly as distinct and fresh as when first cut. In several places they are very near or immediately surrounded by the water-worn surfaces (*i. e.*, in the opening of the right ear), and therefore are evidently of subsequent formation.

Now, as gypsum is soluble in about four hundred parts of water, a very short exposure of the statue in the locality at Cardiff would suffice to oblit-

erate all traces of tool-marks, and also to roughen the polished surfaces, but these are both quite perfect, and hence the giant must have been very recently buried where discovered.

Altogether, the work is well calculated to impose upon the general public; but I am surprised that any scientific observers should not have at once detected the unmistakable evidence against its antiquity.

The President concurred substantially in these views of Prof. Marsh; but Mr. SALISBURY, on the other hand, who had also seen the statue, dissented from some of the positions taken in this communication.

The President read the following letter from Mr. Henry Pickering, son of the late Octavius Pickering, placed in his hands by our associate, the Hon. Charles W. Upham:—

Boston, April 9th, 1869.

REV. CHARLES W. UPHAM, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR, — My father, as you already know, intended giving to the Massachusetts Historical Society the bound volumes of Col. Timothy Pickering's manuscript correspondence, and such of his unbound papers as should be thought proper to accompany them, — with the exception of the first four volumes containing private and family letters, — and a will was drawn in which was embodied the above bequest to the Society. My father did not live to execute this will, and the property in the manuscripts and papers passed to me as his sole heir.

It is my desire to carry out my father's intention by presenting to the Society the books and papers now in your hands: it being understood that they are to remain with you, or in the hands of such person as shall carry on or complete the biography of Col. Pickering, as long as may be necessary for that purpose.

Will you oblige me by laying this communication before the Society, or asking their acceptance of the bound manuscripts and of such of the unbound papers as you consider worthy of preservation for the objects of the Society, in any way you think proper; and when you have finished your examination of them, and have no further use for them, will you give them into the hands of the Society as their own property?

I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,

HENRY PICKERING.

REV. CHAS. W. UPHAM.

Voted, That the Society gratefully accept the papers presented by Mr. Henry Pickering, and that they will take charge of them when deposited in the Library.

The President announced a new number of the "Proceedings," embracing the transactions for June, July, and August, 1869.

The President exhibited a manuscript, comprising notes of a course of Lectures by Prof. John Winthrop of Harvard College, taken by a student about the year 1740; and presented it to our associate, Mr. Sibley, for Harvard College Library.

The President read a letter from our associate, Dr. Ellis, making some suggestions relative to another course of lectures to be delivered by members of the Society at some future time.

The Librarian read a letter from Mr. N. Goodwin, of Framingham, explaining a passage in the journal of Mr. Samuel Davis, published in a late number of the "Proceedings". In passing through Wethersfield, Conn., Mr. Davis says, he saw Beadle's House and Shop, both of which were closed, as no one would occupy them.* "Perhaps few if any persons know," writes Mr. Goodwin, "the cause of this house and shop being closed and avoided. Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, of Plymouth, grandson of Dr. Francis Le Baron, returned from Barbados after a residence of fifteen years there; and, in 1756, October 14th, married for his second wife the widow of Ansell Lothrop, — Mary (Thompson) Lothrop. At the time of her second marriage, Mrs. Lothrop had one child, a daughter, Lydia Lothrop. Soon afterwards the daughter was married to William Beadle of Wethersfield, Conn., a merchant or trader of considerable property. By her he had four children, all of whom with his wife he murdered, then cut his own throat. Hence arose the reluctance to occupy his house and shop."

Mr. APPLETON exhibited a rare picture of Bunker Hill, pro-

* Ante, p. 14.

cured by him in New York. It was probably by an American artist, and evidently taken soon after the battle of Bunker Hill. It is inscribed as follows: "An Exact View of The Late Battle at Charlestown, June 17th, 1775," &c. By B. Romans. It is from a copperplate, 16 1-2 by 11 inches, and colored by hand.

The President announced that the Standing Committee had accepted the invitation of our associate, Mr. Mason, for the Society to meet at his house on Tuesday evening, the 21st inst.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A social meeting of the Society was held at the house of Mr. R. M. MASON, No. 1 Walnut Street, corner of Beacon Street, on the evening of Tuesday, the 21st of December, at seven and a half o'clock; the President in the chair.

In his opening remarks, the President indulged in some reminiscences relating to the house in which the Society were assembled, it having once been the residence of his father, the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, a former President of the Society.

The President read the following letter from our associate, Mr. W. S. Appleton, noticing the death of a Corresponding Member, Mr. John Bruce, F. S. A., of London.

Boston, Dec. 10, 1860.

DEAR MR. WINTHROP,—Had I supposed that the death of our Corresponding Member, John Bruce, F. S. A., would not have been noticed at the meeting yesterday, I would have sent you an extract from some English paper announcing it. He died on the 28th of October, aged 67, and the following appeared in the "Illustrated London News" for Nov. 13; the "Athenæum" and "Notes and Queries" have also printed memoirs:—

"John Bruce, Esq., F. S. A., an eminent antiquary, has just died, aged sixty-seven. He was of a Scottish family, and passed some time

at the Grammar School of Aberdeen. He was originally brought up to the law, but relinquished that profession about the year 1840. He then devoted himself entirely to literature, taking especial interest in mediæval lore, and editing several works of historical importance, amongst others, "Hayward's Annals of Elizabeth," "The Leycester Correspondence," "Verney's Notes on the Long Parliament," "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," and other productions of a similar character. One of his most recent and important works was a "Calendar of the State Papers," of the reign of Charles I. Mr. Bruce contributed also to the "Edinburgh Review" and to the "Gentleman's Magazine," of which latter periodical he was for some time editor, and he took a leading part in the management of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was Treasurer and Vice-President. At the death of Lord Aberdeen, he became, in succession to that nobleman, one of the trustees of Sir John Soane's museum in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.*

I will only add that he was, most deservedly, elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in June, 1867.

Yours very truly,

WM. S. APPLETON.

The President read a letter from Dr. H. I. Bowditch, accompanying the letters and memorials relative to the late Dr. Morton, and referred to in a former communication of Dr. Bowditch to the Society. (See proceedings of the meeting for January following.)

He also read a letter placed in his hands by the Recording Secretary, from Mr. A. James, of Halifax, N.S., dated December 3, 1869, and addressed to Mr. Edward Russell, of Boston, in which the writer refers to a document in his possession that he thinks should find a place in one of the public libraries of the United States. The document is the "original notes, in the handwriting of Mr. Mason, of the survey of Mason and Dixon's Line, bound up with the original correspondence between the Proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, (Lord Baltimore and Thomas Penn); the two Commissioners; the Rev.

* An interesting letter of Mr. Bruce to the Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, prefixed to a "Defence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges against a Charge of having betrayed the Earl of Essex, written by Himself," is published in the Appendix to Folsom's Catalogue of Original Documents relating to Maine; New York, 1858. — Eds.

Mr. Maskelyn, the celebrated astronomer; and the public men of the two provinces interested." Mr. James expressed the desire that the manuscript should come to the United States rather than go to the British Museum, to which he had recently intended to offer it.

No action was taken in reference to the communication of Mr. James. Mr. DEANE stated that he had written to Mr. Russell (who had kindly forwarded to him Mr. James's letter), and expressed the hope that the manuscript might be sent to Boston for the inspection of the members; the document referred to being the same which was seen by Mr. Porter C. Bliss, while on a visit to Nova Scotia, in 1860, and noticed in the proceedings of this Society for August, 1865, p. 441.

The President also read a letter from our associate, Dr. Ellis, relating to another course of lectures by members of the Society. A number of subjects to be treated, and a list of persons to be invited to lecture, were read to the meeting.

Dr. Ellis's letter was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Ellis, the Recording and Corresponding Secretaries.

Mr. DEANE read a paper on "The Forms used in issuing letters-patent by the Crown of England"; with some remarks relating to the early history of the Massachusetts Charter of 4th Charles I.

The Forms in Issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England.

Of the original thirteen States of this Union, the larger part, as we know, were settled under charters (Provincial, Proprietary, or Municipal) from the Crown of England; and it should not be an uninteresting inquiry, to the student of our history, as to the official forms which were used in issuing these important documents. By these forms we see, that, although the grants were made by the Sovereign, in virtue of his prerogative, yet this exercise of his prerogative is surrounded by important formalities; in order that "no detriment or injury may result to the property or persons of his Majesty's

subjects, or to the rights and possessions of his Majesty's crown ; according to the principle which may be traced to the earliest periods of the English Constitution, that the prerogatives of the Sovereign are not to be exercised arbitrarily, or without discretion, but legally, and for the general benefit of the Commonwealth." *

During the first and second years of Queen Victoria's reign, a law was passed, entitled "An act for keeping the Public Records"; pursuant to which arrangements were made by the Master of the Rolls, for ascertaining the condition of the records, scattered in various depositories in London, and finally for bringing them together into one large department, and arranging them for use. In this way large masses of most valuable papers were collected from the Tower, the Rolls Chapel, the Chapter House, Carlton Ride, the Rolls House, the Remembrance House, Somerset House, Whitehall-yard, Westminster Hall, and other places. The most of these have now been consolidated with the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane.

Full reports were made to her Majesty, from time to time, of the progress of the work, by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Sir Francis Palgrave, in which a most minute account is given of the nature of the papers, and of their condition. In his Second Report issued in 1841,† he also gives a full description of the "Offices and Documents connected with the Working of the Great Seal"; showing "to your Majesty," to quote his own words, "that a large and very important portion of the Records of the Common Law side of the Court of Chancery is composed of the Enrolments of the documents which pass your Majesty's Great Seal, or of the Dockets supplying the place of Enrolments." "It therefore appeared expedient to his Lordship, the Master of the Rolls, that the origin and

* Sir Francis Palgrave, in his Report cited below.

† Second Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. (May 15, 1841.) Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1841.

progress of all the several instruments which authorize the affixing the Great Seal, as well as of all the documents under the Great Seal, thus ultimately becoming Records of Chancery, should be traced through their different constitutional stages up to their source, the expressed or implied commands of the Sovereign. And by his Lordship's direction I have attended at the several offices and departments partially or wholly connected with the working of the Great Seal hereinafter noticed, and obtained the information now presented to your Majesty. . . .

"The whole process of passing Letters-Patent under the Great Seal is, however, very complicated, and differing according to the nature of the documents. The subject will therefore be rendered more intelligible, by first submitting to your Majesty a general view of the course or cycle of these documents; which course, in the numerical majority of cases, that is to say, in the cases for Patents for Inventions, Charters for Incorporations, and other instruments of the like nature, issued as of grace and favor, upon the application of your Majesty's subjects, is the following:—

1. Petition addressed to the Crown, upon which is grounded the
2. Reference to the Law Officer or Officers by the { Privy Council or
Secretary of State.
3. Report { of the Attorney and Solicitor General, or one of them,
and of the Privy Council, if required, as explained below.
4. Warrant under your Majesty's Sign Manual, which is the authority for the
5. Bill (called the Queen's Bill) [or King's Bill, according as the Sovereign is a man or a woman] under your Majesty's Sign Manual; which is the authority for the
6. Bill of Privy Signet; which is the authority for the
7. Writ of Privy Seal; which, being the *recipi* of the Lord Chancellor, is the authority for the
8. Patent under the Grand Seal.*

In some cases, instanced by the writer in his elaborate Report, some of these stages are dispensed with. The process

* Palgrave's Report, p. 28.

relating to Charters of Incorporation principally interests us here, and I have drawn up from his Report as briefly as I could (and in the language of the Report, where it is practicable) a description of it. It is possible that this inquiry may throw some light upon the Massachusetts charter, and upon some of the questions which have been raised as to the intention of the Crown in granting it.

Charters of Municipal Incorporation, or affecting commercial, colonial, or general interests, are obtained by petition addressed to his Majesty in Council. The draft of the proposed charter is annexed to the petition, or is transmitted with it. The petition is then submitted to the King (or Queen) in Council, who usually refers the same to the permanent committee of the Lords of the Council, denominated the Board of Trade and Plantations. There the expediency of the application is discussed, and persons are heard who may be opposed to the same. If the Board of Trade favor the application, an order is made referring the draft officially to the Attorney and Solicitor General for their joint opinion. Upon the draft being returned by the Law Officers with a favorable opinion, the Board usually report to his Majesty in Council that it will be advisable that he should grant the charter. The King commonly approves the same, and makes an order commanding one of the principal Secretaries of State for the Colonial Department, to prepare a warrant* for the royal signature, directing the Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare the Bill for passing the charter.†

The business of preparing the Bill, called the "King's Bill," for his Majesty's signature, is conducted in a permanent office called the "Patent Bill Office," or, more commonly, the "Patent Office"; of which the chief officer, styled "Clerk

* The warrant is a mandate, under the King's sign-manual, and countersigned by one of the principal officers of the Crown (*Report*, pp. 26, 27).

† Falgrave's Report, p. 29.

of the 'Patents to the Attorney and Solicitor General,' is appointed by those officials. The King's Bill contains the whole form and settled draft of the King's charter, grant, or patent, in the words in which it is to pass the Great Seal, with the exceptions only of his Majesty's style at the beginning and the testing clause at the end ; but with the addition, at the foot, of the Docket, addressed to the King by the Attorney or Solicitor General, and signed by one or both of them.* The Bill is engrossed upon parchment, and two other copies are made, also upon parchment, exactly of the same form and size ; which copies become the original Bills of Privy Signet, and Writs of Privy Seal, when afterward perfected by the respective officers.†

The King's Bill, bearing the signature of his Majesty, is then lodged in the Privy Signet Office, and the transcript upon parchment being received also from the Patent Office, this latter is collated, completed, and rendered a Bill of Privy Signet by the Clerk, who subscribes and affixes the King's Signet to the same, addresses it to the Lord Privy Seal, and forwards it to his office.‡

When the Privy Signet comes into the office of the Privy Seal, the Keeper of the Records prepares the Bill or Writ of

* The Clerk of the Patents reads the draft carefully, and calls the attention of the Attorney and Solicitor General to any matter which appears to him to require further consideration. The signing of the Docket by the law officer or officers, is procured by the Clerk of the Patents. The King's Bill, and the transcripts, are delivered to the party or functionary by whom the same is to be passed, who takes the first to the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, where the King's signature is obtained to the King's Bill. "The transcripts in the same manner reach the Privy Signet and Privy Seal offices, and, excepting in the addition of the formal parts, and the addition of the needful signatures, no alteration is ever made in those transcripts" (*Report*, p. 30).

† Palgrave's *Report*, p. 30.

‡ "The Documents retained by the clerk of the Privy Signet are the following:—*The Docket Books*. These books contain copies of the Docket at the foot of the Queen's [or King's] Bill, as the same is signed by your Majesty's law officer or officers. They are neatly entered, and continue in a regular series from the year 1584 to the present time, forming about fifty volumes, written upon paper. They are carefully and fully indexed by names and subject-matters" (*Report*, p. 33).

Privy Seal, by adding the formal parts to the transcript of the King's Bill, which he has received from the Patent Office; and he presents the same to the Lord Privy Seal in order that the Privy Seal may be affixed thereto. The Seal is in the custody of his Lordship, and is kept at his house. There is one regular public Seal day every week.

The Writ of Privy Seal is then taken by the agent or messenger of the private party or public department on whose behalf it is issued, to one of the officers of the Chancery, the Clerk of the Patents, by whom the Patent is to be made out. When the Writ of Privy Seal reaches the Lord Chancellor he signs a memorandum called the *Recipi* at the foot of the same, and this signature is the authority to his officers for preparing the Letters-Patent, and affixing the Great Seal to the same.*

We here see that the document passes through four processes, that it is repeated four times, before it reaches its final stage, the Letters-Patent. So it would seem that the greatest care is taken that nothing should be done surreptitiously.†

If the inquiry should now be made whether there is any evidence that our charter of 4th Car. I. passed through all these processes before coming at last to the Letters-Patent which hang at the State House, I have only to refer to some investigations made for me by Mr. Sainsbury in Her Majesty's Public Record Office in London, for an affirmative answer. I will quote only a few passages from his correspondence on this

* Palgrave's Report, p. 33.

† There is another process, that of enrolment, which may be briefly stated. "The writ of Privy Seal is transmitted, by the officer who makes out the patents, to the Six Clerks, who enroll the same, and who transmit the enrolment and writ to the Clerks of the Petty Bag, who transmit the same to the Chapel of the Rolls" (*Report*, p. 26). The parchment roll on which the Massachusetts charter is engrossed was examined by me in the Public Record Office in London, in 1866. It is composed of strips of parchment of about one foot in width and about two feet in length, the ends overlapping, and firmly attached together by strings. A number of patents, having otherwise no connection with each other, are thus attached together, and wound into one large roll from eight to ten inches in diameter. The words of the charter are merely engrossed upon the parchment with no attestation.

subject. After going over in brief the same ground I have just occupied more at length, Mr. Sainsbury says:—

"We have seen that the King's Bill or Sign-Manual, the Bill of Privy Signet, the Writ of Privy Seal, and the Patent under the Great Seal, are or should be exact copies one of the other. To prove this in the present case [that is, in the case of the Massachusetts charter], I have carefully collated these Documents and find that they really are copies one of the other."

I have spoken of the "King's Bill," that which bears the sign-manual of the king. There, we have seen, the charter appears for the first time in its official form, and that is the authority for every thing that follows. We have seen also that the parchment on which the King's Bill is written, has at the foot the addition of a memorandum called the "Docket", addressed to the king by the Attorney or Solicitor General (sometimes by both jointly), explaining briefly to his Majesty the nature of the instrument he is about to sign. Concerning these Dockets, Mr. Sainsbury says:—

"According to the constitutional practice of England, the Sovereign never signs any legal instrument without a Docket being attached explaining shortly the nature and contents of the Instrument to be signed."

Mr. Sainsbury has sent me the Docket appended to the King's Bill of the Massachusetts charter,* which is as follows:—

Sign Manuals.
Vol. x. No. 16.

May it please yo^r most Excellent Ma^{ty}

Whereas yo^r Ma^{ty} most deare and royall father did by his Ires Patents in the 18th yeare of his raigne incorporate divers noblemen & others by the name of y^e Councell for the planting of New England in America and did thereby grant unto them all that part of America w^{ch} lyeth betweene 40 degrees of Northerly latitude & 48

* The King's (or Queen's) signature is *invariably* at the head or top of grants and letters. "In the case in point," says Mr. Sainsbury, "the signature is so *very* indistinct that only a person who knew where it should be would detect it."

inclusive wth divers priviledges & ymmunities under a tenure in free socage & reservacōn to y^e Crowne of y^e fift part of y^e Gould & silver oare to be found there W^{ch} said Councell have sithence by their Charter in March last granted a part of that Continent to S^t Henrie Rosewell & others their heires & associates for ever wth all jurisdictiones rightes priviledges and commodities of the same.

This Bill containeth yo^r Ma^{ties} confirmacōn & Grant to y^e said S^t Henry Rosewell & his partners & their Associates & to their heires & assignes for ever of y^e said part of New England in America wth the like tenure in socage & reservacōn of y^e fift part of Gould & silver oare Incorporating them also by the name of the Governor & Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England in America wth such clauses for y^e electing of Governors & Officers here in England for y^e said Company, and powers to make lawes & Ordinances for setting y^e Government & Magistracye for y^e plantacōn there * & wth such exemptions from Customes & Imposicōns & some [such?] other priviledges as were originallie granted to the Councell aforesaid & are usuallie allowed to Corporacōns in England.

And is done by direccōn from the Lo. Keeper† upon yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure therein signified to his Lo^d by S^t Raph Freeman.‡

(Signed)

RL. SHILTON §

Indorsed, — "1628, Expedit apud Westm^e Vicesimo septimo die Februarij Anno Regⁱ Caroli quarto." ||

"p WOODWARD dep."

* This last clause refers to the following in the charter: The Company have power "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes and ordinances, directions and instructions, . . . for the settling of the forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy fit and necessary for the said plantation and the inhabitants there," &c., &c.; in virtue of which the Form of Government for the Colony, on page 177, was established. In the charter granted to the "Council for New England," established at Plymouth, the same power was given; namely, "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation," &c.

† Sir Thomas Coventry was at this time Lord Keeper.

‡ Sir Ralph Freeman was "Auditor of Imprests."

§ Sir Richard Sheldon, who signs this Docket, was the Solicitor General. In the Docket as printed by Chalmers, and in that in the Signet Book, it says, "subscribed by Mr. Attorney General"; which may be an inadvertence. Sir Robert Heath was at this time Attorney General. He must have been consulted, with his colleague the Solicitor General, when the application for the charter was before the Privy Council, and was also officially concerned in drawing up the King's Bill.

|| The Writ of Privy Seal (Bundle 281, part 71) thus concludes: — "Given under our Privy Seale at our Pallace of Westm^e the eight and twentieth day of Februarie in the fourth year of Our Reigne." "*Recipi 4 Martii 1628.*"

To what has already been said I purpose to subjoin a few remarks by way of applying it to some questions relating to the Massachusetts charter.

That the intention of the Crown was to create a corporation to reside in England would seem to be sufficiently clear. Such is the interpretation given to the charter by the Attorney and Solicitor General to whom the draft was referred by the Board of Trade, for to this effect the Solicitor informs the royal mind in the Docket we have just read. He tells his Majesty that the charter he is about to sign contains provisions for the electing of Governors and Officers *here in England* for the said Company, and powers to make laws and ordinances for settling the government and magistracy *for the plantation there*; with some [such?] other privileges as were originally granted to the Council for New England; which Council, by name, had a "local habitation" in England.

The Council of Plymouth had, on the 19th of March, in the previous year, conveyed away so much of its territory as was embraced within the boundaries described in the Massachusetts charter. It also conveyed, so far as it legally could, all jurisdiction over that territory. But this latter amounted probably to little more than an abandonment of the Council's jurisdiction; so that the Massachusetts charter appears to have been intended to supply the place of the government thus withdrawn. The king, in this grant, reconveyed to the new patentees of this territory what had been before granted to the Council of Plymouth. The Chief Justices, in 1677, held that the Council of Plymouth, by its grant of 19th March, 1627-8, must be presumed to have "deserted the government."

Chalmers, in his Political Annals, page 147, gives a Docket of the Massachusetts charter, or a copy of it, as found in the "Privy Seal Office." This varies a little in its language from that to the King's Bill; but they agree as to the point in question.* "Incorporating them by the name of the Governor

* Mr. Sainsbury says that each clerk, in the different offices, makes his own memorandum or Docket of the papers that pass through his office.

and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in America, with such other privileges * for electing Governors and officers here in England for the said company, with such privileges and immunities as were originally granted to the said noblemen and others, and are usually allowed to corporations here in England." †

The significance of this language has either been overlooked by some later writers, or there has been a misapprehension

* As corrected by the Signet Office books it should read, "with such clauses for the electing of governors," &c.

† I give below a copy of the Docket printed by Chalmers, but corrected by Mr. Sainsbury, on comparing it with the entry in the Signet Book; the Dockets there being usually the same as those in the Privy Seal Office. The heading to the paper printed by Chalmers is "A copy of the Decquet of the grant to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, taken out of the Privy Seal Office at Whitehall." This, being in quotation marks, shows that it was a "copy," found by Chalmers among the New-England Papers; and that he did not take it directly from the Docket Books, either of the Privy Signet Office, or the Privy Seal Office. The heading to Chalmers's copy, as we have seen, indicates that it was originally "taken out of the Privy Seal Office." The variation in the two copies is immaterial. The memorandum to Chalmers's copy, that "their charter passed 4th March following," could not of course have been taken from either of the above sources, but was a piece of information subsequently ingrafted upon it.

We are told by Sir F. Palgrave that the Docket Books in charge of the Clerk of the Privy Signet, contain copies of the Docket at the foot of the King's Bill. In the case of the Docket copied below from that office, it will be seen to be rather an abridgment or paraphrase of that appended to the King's Bill of the Massachusetts charter, as printed in the text, rather than an exact copy of it. There is, however, a substantial agreement in substance.

Docket from Chalmers's "Political Annals," p. 147, corrected from the Docket Books in the Signet Office, Vol. IX.

"A grant and confirmation unto Sir Henry Rosewell, his partners & their associates and * to their heirs and assigns for ever, of a part of America called New England granted unto him by a Charter from divers noblemen and others, to whom the same was granted by the late King James with a tenure in soccage and reservation of one fifth † part of the gold and silver ore: Incorporating them by the name of the Governor & Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in America with such clauses for the electing of governors ‡ and officers here in England for the said Company; with such other privileges and immunities as were originally granted to the said noblemen & others and are usually allowed to corporations § in England. His Majesty's pleasure signified by Sir Raphe Freeman upon the || direction of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; ¶ subscribed by Mr. Attorney General; procured by the Lord Viscount Dorchester."

* Chalmers omits "and".

† Chalmers says "third part".

‡ Chalmers says "such other privileges for electing governors".

§ Chalmers says "here in England".

|| Chalmers omits "the".

¶ Chalmers omits "of England".

as to the nature of the Docket in its connection with grants of incorporation. A distinguished jurist, a member of this Society, who has written an elaborate and acute analysis of the Massachusetts charter, cites this Docket in Chalmers; and admits, that it "is explicit enough to show that there was an intention when that minute was made, that the corporation should have a local habitation in England." But he regards this Docket as a mere "memorandum of the proceedings of the Council, prior to the grant of the charter." "This Docket," he proceeds, "taken in connection with the charter itself, and other admitted facts, furnishes most plenary proof that the intention thus appearing, was in fact changed *when the charter was afterwards drawn and authenticated*"; his interpretation of the charter itself not coinciding with that given by the writer of the Docket.* But these views, as has been seen, are based upon a misapprehension of the nature of the Docket in question; which is simply the *précis*, or contents, briefly set forth, of the charter already drawn, and before the writer.

Having now seen what sort of a charter of incorporation the sovereign intended to grant to the Massachusetts patentees, or what his Solicitor-General informs him that he was granting, let us now briefly inquire what the grantees themselves supposed they were getting from his Majesty.

We find Cradock, the Governor, a few days after the passing of the charter under the Great Seal, writing in the name of the Company to Endicott, at Salem, under date of the 17th of April, as follows:—

"Since your departure we have, for the further strengthening of our grant from the Council at Plymouth, obtained a confirmation of it from his Majesty by his letters patents under the broad seal of England; by

* Joel Parker, LL.D., in his Lecture on "The First Charter, and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts"; pp. 381, 382, of the volume of Lectures on the "Early History of Massachusetts," published by this Society in 1869.

which said letters patents we are incorporated into a body politic, with ample power to govern and rule all his Majesty's subjects that reside within the limits of our Plantation, as by the duplicate thereof, under the broad seal, which we have delivered to Mr. Sharpe to be delivered to you, doth fully appear." *

Endicott is further told that he is confirmed Governor of the Plantation, and has a Council assigned to him in the Government of the Colony there.

At a meeting of the General Court in London, on the 30th of April, this Form of Government for the Colony was adopted :

"Whereas the King's most excellent Majesty hath been graciously pleased to erect and establish us, by his letters patents under the great seal of England, to be a body corporate, entitled *The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*; and thereby hath endowed us with many large and ample privileges and immunities, with power to make good and wholesome laws, orders, and ordinances, for the better maintenance and support of the said privileges, and for the better and more orderly and regular government to be observed in the prosecution and propagation of our intended voyages and the Plantation there; authorizing us to nominate and appoint and select fit persons amongst ourselves for the managing, ordering and governing of our affairs, both in England and in the places specified and granted unto us by virtue of his Majesty's said charter: We have, in the prosecution of the said power and authority given us, and in conformity thereunto, and to the purpose and intent thereof, and not otherwise, thought fit to settle and establish an absolute government at our Plantation in the said Massachusetts Bay, in New-England; which, by the vote and consent of a full and ample Court now assembled, is thought fit and ordered, as followeth, viz.:

"That thirteen of such as shall be reputed the most wise, honest, expert, and discreet persons, resident upon the said Plantation, shall, from time to time, and at all time hereafter, have the sole managing and ordering of the government and of our affairs there; who, to the best of their judgments, are to endeavor so to settle the same as may make most to the glory of God, the furtherance and advancement of this hopeful Plantation, the comfort, encouragement, and future benefit of us and others, the beginners and prosecutors of this so laudable a

* Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, pp. 141, 142.

work; the said thirteen persons so appointed to be entitled by the name of *The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Mattachusetts Bay in New-England.*"*

On the 28th of May following, the Company, through Cradock, again write to Endicott:—

"We have, sithence our last, and according as we then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, elected and established you, Captain John Endicott, to the place of present Governor in our Plantation there, as also some others to be of the Council with you, as more particularly you will perceive by an Act of Court herewith sent, confirmed by us at a General Court, and sealed with our common seal; to which Act we refer you, desiring you all punctually to observe the same, and that the Oaths we herewith send you, (which have been here penned by learned counsel, to be administered to each of you in your several places) may be administered in such manner and form as in and by our said Order is particularly expressed; and that yourselves do frame such other Oaths as in your wisdoms you shall think fit to be administered to your Secretary or other officers, according to their several places respectively."†

The form of the oaths, to be sent to New England to be administered there, "were here penned," says Cradock, "by learned counsel,"—no less a person certainly than John Whyte the counsellor, who is supposed to have drawn the charter itself. A committee to frame the oaths had been appointed at a meeting of the General Court on the 30th of April. They had been prepared by the 7th of May, and were reported at a Court of Assistants held that day.‡ At a Court of Assistants held on the 21st of May, "Mr. Eaton took the oath of Assistant. And he is desired to accompany Mr. Humphrey to Mr. Whyte the counsellor, to be satisfied concerning the administering oaths to the Governor and Council in New England." All the

* Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 192, 193.

† *Ibid.* p. 173.

‡ See the form of the "Oaths of office for the Governor and Council" in *New-England*, in Young, as above, pp. 201-203.

"Orders concerning the establishment of the Governor and Council in New England," were prepared at this meeting, and confirmed at the meeting on the following day; and the General Letter to be sent to Endicott, bearing date the 28th of May (from which the above extract is taken), was "concluded on." They were despatched to him by vessels which sailed about the end of this month.

These extracts from the Company's Records are familiar to all students of our history; but, familiar as they are, they are too important to be omitted here.

While the charter incorporated these patentees as the "Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay in New England," they, exercising their powers in London, establish a subordinate government on the soil, under the name of "the Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England"; and all this they say they do by virtue of the powers granted to them in their charter, John Whyte being their legal adviser throughout.

By reference to the Company's Records it will be seen that the business of the Company was vigorously prosecuted during the months of March, April, May, June, and July, in view of the settlement of the Colony agreeably to this interpretation of the charter. We here see a perfect coincidence of opinion between the Sovereign granting, and the patentees receiving; between the Solicitor of the Crown on the one hand, and the legal counsel of the Company on the other.

About five months after the granting of the charter, at a meeting of the General Court, on the 28th of July, —

"Mr. Governor read certain propositions conceived by himself, viz. That for the advancement of the Plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, [it is proposed] to transfer the government of the Plantation to those that shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the Company here, as now it is."

"This business," says the Record, "occasioned some debate":

"But by reason of the many great and considerable consequences thereupon depending, it was not now resolved upon, but those present are desired privately and seriously to consider hereof, and to set down their particular reasons in writing *pro et contra*, and to produce the same at the next General Court; where they being reduced to heads and maturely considered of, the Company may then proceed to a final resolution thereon. And in the mean time they are desired to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged."*

This, if I mistake not, is the first time we hear of such a proposition, which was to be regarded as strictly confidential. I have looked in vain through those admirable volumes — the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop" (of which I observe a new edition, with additional letters, is just published) — for some earlier intimation of such an intention. Although the proposition is said by the Record to have been conceived by Cradock himself, we must believe that it was the result of a previous conference among leading persons of the Company, and others who proposed conditionally to join it. The truth is, a new element had been brought into their counsels. John Winthrop was stretching his vision toward New England, and other prominent persons were looking in the same direction; and in one month after Cradock's proposition, their views had been so far matured as to be embodied in the "Agreement at Cambridge," of the 26th of August. Twelve prominent gentlemen, including six who had been members of the Company from the first, agreed on that day to embark for the Plantation by the first of the following March; *provided*, that before the last of September, that is, before the expiration of four weeks, "the whole Government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first, by an order of Court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said Plantation."†

* Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, pp. 85, 86.

† Ibid. pp. 281, 282.

Two days after the signing of this agreement, a special meeting of the General Court was called, —

“To give answer to divers gentlemen, intending to go into New England, whether or no the chief government of the Plantation, together with the patent, should be settled in New England, or here. Whereupon it was ordered, that this afternoon Mr. Wright, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Adams, Mr. Spurstowe, and such others as they should think fit to call unto them, whether they were of the Company or not, to consider of arguments against the settling of the chief government in New England; and on the other side, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson,* Captain Venn, and such others as they should call unto them, to prepare arguments for the settling of the said government in New England; and, that tomorrow morning, being the 29th of August, at seven of the clock, both sides should meet and confer and weigh each other's arguments, and afterwards at nine of the clock (which is the time appointed of meeting for a General Court) to make report thereof to the whole Company, who then will determine the business.”

At the meeting of the Court on the 29th of August, a long debate was held, after which “Mr. Deputy put it to the question as followeth” : —

“As many of you as desire to have the patent and the government of the Plantation to be transferred to New England, so as it may be done legally, hold up your hands. So many as will not, hold up your hands.

“When, by erection of hands, it appeared by the general consent of the Company, that the government and patent should be settled in New England, and accordingly an Order to be drawn up.”

A month later, at a meeting of the General Court, on the 29th of September, the “Orders” for transferring the government and the patent were read, but they were not acted on; that business, being of such “great and weighty consequence, is thought fit to be deferred for determination until Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, and other gentlemen be come up to London, and may be here present.”

“In the mean time it was propounded that a committee should be appointed,

* Saltonstall and Johnson signed the “Agreement at Cambridge.”

To prepare the business ;

To take advice of learned council whether the same may be legally done or no ;

By what way or means the same may be done, to correspond with and not to prejudice the government here ;

To consider of the time when it will be fit to do it ;

To resolve on whom to confer the government ; and divers other circumstances material to be resolved on," &c.*

So cautious and doubtful were they as to the expediency and legality of this measure, that the Order for the transference of the government, &c., was never formally passed, although at the meeting on the 15th of October the Company seem to have assumed that it had been, and proceeded to make their arrangements accordingly.† A government for trade was to remain in London ; and articles of agreement between the adventurers and planters were drawn up by the legal counsellor of the company, Mr. Whyte, whose services and advice were so convenient for every emergency.

There would seem to be sufficient evidence in what has been said to show that the proposition for the transference of the chief government and patent to New England was a novel one to all parties concerned at the time it was made, and quite foreign to the purposes of the patentees when the charter was granted.

The "opinion" of Mr. Whyte the counsellor, as to the legality of this measure, has not been transmitted to us. We may suppose it to have run somewhat in this wise : —

"In framing your letters-patents I drew largely, according to my instructions, upon the provisions of the Charter of the Council for New England, who aliened their right of government over the territory which they granted to you. By this

* Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 86-91.

† The vote taken on the 29th of August was merely a preliminary one, to test the sense of the meeting. This is clearly shown by the proceedings on the 29th of September.

new franchise from his Majesty you thus far stand in their place.

"The patent was drawn, and passed through all its forms, with no other view than that the chief government of the Company incorporated thereby would be located here in England, and that a government in subordination to this would be established on the plantation. Such was my understanding when I drew the patent, such was the understanding of the Crown Officers whom I was then constantly consulting, and such was your own opinion when the patent passed into your possession. Nothing else was wished for, and all your proceedings thus far have jumped with this interpretation of your grant. In accordance with this view I framed the Form of Government for the Colony which you have sent over to governor Endicott, with the duplicate of the patent.

"I will call your attention to some provisions which point directly to this use of the patent. There are clauses providing for the election of the charter officers,—the Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, &c., of the Company; and separate clauses for the appointing of 'such chief commanders, captains, governors,' &c., as shall be employed upon the plantation, or in the way by sea thither, or from thence,—a distinct class of officers. The first are elected annually from the freemen, according to the directions given in the patent; the second are 'named' or appointed in virtue of the 'orders,' &c., of the Governor and Company, in any General (or special) Court assembled. Observe also, that the officers who are to be employed in the government in New England, and in passing to and from said plantation, are respectively to have authority over all persons who shall go to inhabit there,—while going, while resident, and while returning. This certainly imports that the corporation is to *send* out these persons; for, if it was itself resident on the plantation, it would hardly expect to exercise control over his Majesty's subjects before their arrival. The clause making provision in case of

fraud in exporting goods to a foreign country under pretence of carrying them to the plantation, clearly presupposes the residence of the Company within the realm. Many other provisions might be mentioned.

"As your legal counsel, I feel constrained to advise you that there is no precedent for the course proposed.

"It has been suggested that there is no clause in the patent absolutely forbidding its transference to the plantation. It is true there is nothing there prohibiting you to hold your meetings, or to elect your officers, either in Massachusetts Bay or in Nova Zembla; and on this ground you might make your stand if driven to a defence. Should you transfer your patent and hold your meetings on the territory conveyed to the Company, you will naturally abolish your subordinate government, and thus make more simple the forms of your proceedings; and if you are not molested by the crown, as I trust you will not be, with the great ocean between you and our State of England, carrying yourselves ever with great caution and prudence, your aims may have a quiet consummation. If your patent should be demanded for any reason, be slow in responding to such a call. There is sometimes great wisdom in delay. Always plead the necessities of your condition. Your great distance will be your protection. Remember this clause in the patent: that it 'shall be construed, reputed, and adjudged in all cases most favorably on the behalf and for the benefit and behoof of the said Governor and Company, and their successors.' There are many among you who feel that here 'the times are out of joint,' and who wish to aid in building up a new England in yonder distant wilderness. His gracious Majesty, perchance, would not grieve much at your departure. You have a wise leader in Master Winthrop, who proposes to join you, in case the chief government and patent are transferred hence. My advice to you is to take your letters-patents and *exeant omnes*."

The rights and privileges granted in the Massachusetts charter have been subjected to severe analyses by legal minds,

in the light of well-established principles of municipal law of the present day; and sometimes opposite conclusions respecting some clauses of doubtful import have been arrived at. It may be suggested that this is not always the surest method to determine the historical question; namely, as to the *real intention* and understanding of parties to an instrument involving political franchises, drawn more than two centuries ago.*

* Dr. Palfrey, who inclines to the opinion that John Whyte, in drawing the charter, had a care to have it free from any phraseology which might interfere with the disposition subsequently made of it, quotes the following passage from it, as significant of an express grant of power to that end. "The charter," he says, "empowers the Company and their assigns, not to 'send, carry, and transport,' but, 'out of any our realms and dominions whatsoever, to take, lead, carry, and transport, for and into their voyages, and for and towards the said plantation in New England, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other, strangers, that will become our loving subjects and live under our allegiance, as shall willingly accompany them in the same voyages and plantation.'" (*History of New England*, I. 307.) But a reference to the Great Patent of New England will show that this precise language, word for word, is taken from that instrument, which empowers the Council for New England, professedly located in England, their successors and assigns, "to take, lead, carry," &c., as above. (See *Trumbull's Conn. I.* 555.) A similar provision will also be found in the first Charter of Virginia, granted in 1606. (*Stith*, App. p. 4.)

It has been said that the Massachusetts Charter, unlike the Great Patent for New England, did not locate the Company, incorporated by it, in England. The "Council for New England" was substantially a re-incorporation of the "Adventurers of the Northern Colony of Virginia," placing them more on a footing with their rivals, the Southern Colony, whose franchise had been twice enlarged since the original charter of 1606. By that charter two Councils were established: one located in London, the other in Plymouth. The new charter of the northern patentees would, of course, give them a location, as the former charter had done, to distinguish the two Councils from each other. The Massachusetts charter incorporated one Company, which needed no location to distinguish it from any other company. As I interpret the general policy of England at that time, this charter would, as a matter of course, locate the Company within the realm of England. I am aware that the practice of the Crown some years later became different.

On the theory that the Crown intended the Massachusetts Company to be located in England, there has been a difficulty in some minds in accounting for the silence of the government at the bold proceedings of the Company in transporting their patent and government to New England. But it is not apparent how soon the rumor of the transfer reached the royal ear. His Majesty had more important matters to look after, than a few Puritan gentlemen trying to establish a trade or to settle a Colony three thousand miles away in the wilderness of America. Complaints against the Colony, however, from time to time, reached the Council Table. On the 21st of February, 1633-4, Cradock, the former Governor, was summoned before the Council, and required to cause the Letters-Patents to be brought to the Board. "Cradock's reply," says Palfrey, "that the charter had gone to America, perhaps first apprised the government of that important fact." (*History*, I. 371.)

The elevation of Laud to the Archbishopric of Canterbury was a signal for renewed

But of one thing we may be certain: if the Massachusetts charter was inadequate to the purpose of carrying on a colony while the charter and chief government were located in England, it certainly proved itself, after its transfer, wholly inadequate as a constitution of government for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It became necessary, almost from the

proceedings against the Puritans in both Old and New England. The scheme for a General Governor, and for the revocation of all colonial charters, was eagerly pressed. The "Council for New England" surrendered their charter to the king in June, 1635, after dividing the territory among themselves. The charter of Massachusetts was to be vacated, as a matter of course. Proceedings were instituted against it in Westminster Hall, in September of this year, by writ of *quo warranto*, brought by Sir John Banks, who had succeeded Sir Robert Heath as Attorney General. Cradock and fourteen other members of the Company were then in England.

Fourteen allegations of usurpation were brought. They may be seen in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 101-103. Several of the members in England appeared, each of whom, except Cradock, severally pleaded that he had never usurped any of said liberties, and disclaimed; and there was judgment against them that for the future they should not intermeddle with any of the said franchises. Cradock came in, and having had time to interplead, made default, and judgment was given that he should be convicted of the usurpation charged, and that the said franchises should be taken and seized into the king's hands.

The inquiry has sometimes been made, why, if the government had been unlawfully established in the Colony, an allegation to that effect should not have appeared in the indictment against the Company? In reply it may be said, that it is doubtful how far the authorities were informed, at this time, as to the nature of the proceedings of the Company. They knew, the year before, that the charter had gone to New England, but they also knew that nearly one-half the grantees were residing in England, where nominally a government of trade was kept up. How radical a departure from the intent of the charter had been made, they may not have been informed. However this may be, to the Attorney General it was a matter of little moment. He intended to lay the axe at the root of the tree. He struck a blow at the charter itself, as being void *ab initio*. It will be seen that his allegations of usurpation are, nearly all of them, an enumeration, more or less accurate, of the powers granted in the charter; and, no doubt, were intended to be so regarded. We therefore see here the Attorney General's analysis of the charter itself. The first charge in the list of allegations is that they claim "to be a body corporate and politique by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and by that name to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered in all courts and causes." If the company could not claim this, surely they could not claim to live. The seventh allegation is, "To keep a constant Council in England of men of their own Company and choosing, and to name, choose and swear certain persons to be of that Council; and to keep one Council ever resident in New England, chosen out of themselves, and to name, choose and swear whom they please to be of that Council." The Attorney finds these provisions in the charter, and, assuming the practice of the Company to have been in accordance therewith, he cites them as usurpations,—the instrument granting these powers being invalid. This would seem to be his reasoning.

(In the proceedings against the charter in the following reign, in 1684, which resulted in its forfeiture, the validity of the instrument was fully admitted. The usurpations

first, to assume powers for which no warrant can be found in that instrument itself.

In these remarks relative to the Massachusetts charter—which may be regarded as an appendix to the principal theme proposed to myself in this paper—the purpose has been to

charged were confined to Levying Money; Imposing Tonnage Duties; Coining Money; and Imposing an Oath of Fidelity to the Colonial Government. The list might have been enlarged, but those charges were selected which could be the most easily proved; indeed, concerning which, as matters of fact, there could be no dispute.)

One might almost be inclined to think that the purpose of the strange proceeding in 1635 was, by denying the existence of the royal charter, to compel the patentees to produce the original in Court, in order, by legal means or otherwise, to obtain possession of it. But the grantees in London could easily have produced an authenticated copy from the Rolls Office, for the purposes of the trial, if they had chosen to contend.

Emanuel Downing, a brother-in-law of Gov. Winthrop, and a lawyer of the Inner Temple, was at this time living in London. He came to New England in 1638. In 1641, when Hugh Peter was about sailing for England, Downing addressed him a letter, which contains the following passage: "The Bishop caused a *Quo Warranto* to be sued forth in the King's Bench against our patentees, thinking to damn our patent, and put a General Governour over us; but most of them that appeared I did advise to disclaim, which they might safely do, being not sworn Magistrates to govern according to the patent; and these Magistrates which do govern among us, being the only parties to the patent, were never summoned to appear. Therefore if there be a Judgement given against the patent, it's false and erroneous, and ought to be reversed, which, a motion in the King's bench, without any long suit, by Writ of Error, may set right again." (4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* VI. 58.)

The Writ of Error suggested by Downing was never brought. The Colony had paid no regard to the summons to return the charter, and the government continued on as if Westminster Hall had never spoken. The troubles at home gave many years of peace to the Colony here.

"The Restoration," however, was a signal for letting loose the birds of prey against Massachusetts. Her charter was felt to be in danger. Many charges were brought against the Colony—some true, and some false. There were twenty years of alternate hope and fear. On the return of Stoughton and Bulkley, the agents to the Court at London, in 1679, they brought a letter from Charles II., in which he directs the Colony to send over other persons in six months, to attend to matters connected, among other things, with the charter. "For since the charter," he continues, "by its frame and contents, was originally to be executed in this Kingdom and not in New England, otherwise than by deputation (as is accordingly practiced in all other charters of like nature) 'tis not possible to establish that perfect settlement we so much desire, until these things are better understood." (*Hutchinson's Coll. Papers*, p. 519.) The king here expressed the truth. The Colony framed answers to this letter, in instructions to their agents, in which they claimed that their patent was on the same footing with those more recently issued. But no questions were ever raised respecting the charters of Rhode Island or Connecticut, or, indeed, that of Maryland to Lord Baltimore. It was always understood that these were to be executed upon the place.

The Chief Justices, Rainsford and North, had given their opinion two years before that

treat the subject discussed in a strictly historical point of view, and by the aid of contemporary documents.

Professor PARKER then addressed the meeting as follows : —

I congratulate the Society upon the great industry and zeal for its interests which have been always evinced by the Recording Secretary ; and Mr. Deane, himself, upon the success which has attended his efforts to ascertain the mode in which charters were formerly granted in England, and the circumstances attending the grant of the First Charter of Massachusetts. He has laid before the Society a mass of curious information, which I venture to believe was not, until his investigation, in the possession of many persons in the United States, and respecting which probably few persons in England itself had accurate knowledge. It shows the very great caution which formerly prevailed there, respecting grants of acts of incorporation, — a caution which might well be observed here, to some extent, — although doubtless the people of this country would never consent to adopt so many formalities as have heretofore attended the English mode of procedure.

As this information was supposed to have some bearing upon a portion of the Lecture delivered by me at the Lowell Institute, last winter, Mr. Deane, with his uniform courtesy and kindness, informed me of his intention to lay the papers before the Society, and submitted copies to my inspection, which, from circumstances, was but a hasty one.

From such consideration as I have been able to give to the subject, I do not regard the new matter now for the first time accessible here, as infringing, in any material degree, upon the

the Charter of 4th Car. I., "made the Adventurers a corporation upon the place"; and the Attorney General Sawyer, in the subsequent reign, expressed the opinion that the grantees might transfer their patent. But Chalmers intimates that they never carefully examined the patent, nor studied its history. (*Annals*, 173.)

views which I expressed in that Lecture, respecting the true construction of the First Charter.

The only bearing which these papers have upon the subjects there discussed, is upon the right of the grantees to transfer the charter, and the government of the Colony, to this country.

The additional evidence found in these papers, which it is supposed may affect that question, is in the information respecting the mode in which charters were granted at that time, showing the different stages of the progress, from the petition in the first instance, to the final perfection of the grant, — and particularly in showing that the Docket, as it is termed, is a paper signed by the Attorney or Solicitor General, or both, addressed to the king, and appended to the King's Bill, as it is called, which Bill is a draft of the charter, submitted to the king for his approval. The purpose of this Docket, thus annexed, is, to set forth, briefly, the object and contents of the Bill, for his Majesty's information. It forms no part of the Bill, or charter, but is a mere representation to enable the king more readily to understand the Bill, or proposed charter.

Chalmers professes to give a copy of the "docquet" as taken out of the Privy Seal office; and from the terms of his copy, it would appear to be a memorandum of the character of the charter, and of the proceedings relating to it, made and kept in that office. It has none of the forms of a representation to the king, but is historical in its character, and, for aught which appears, might have been made up at different times. In fact, the last part of it evidently was made after the charter had finally passed, as it states the date of the passage.

The description of the charter, as there set down, so far as it relates to the present question, is, "a grant and confirmation to Sir Henry Rosewell and others," — "incorporating them by the name of the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in America, with such other privileges, for *electing governor and officers here in England for the said company*," &c. Finding no such language in the charter, and

no other terms confining elections to England, I was induced to suppose, naturally, I think, that this Docket, like the memoranda of dockets in court, stated proceedings at different stages, and that a part of the charter relating to the election of governors, &c., had been altered afterwards, and the restrictive clause left out.

The papers now furnished through the investigation of our distinguished associate and Secretary, show that this was a mistaken supposition, — that the Docket, or representation to the king, annexed to the charter, as presented for his signature, contained that clause, whatever may be its signification, that he prefixed his signature, and that although three copies of the charter were made, there was no alteration, so far as appears, in it.

I submit that all this in no way impairs the force of the argument which I had the honor to make respecting the true construction of the charter, — showing, as I thought, that the charter itself did authorize the establishment of the government in Massachusetts, in the manner in which the grantees did in fact establish it, and that it was then so understood. The phraseology which is found in the Docket, and which is used as an argument to show that the election of governors and officers was confined to England, is not in the charter, and, it would seem, was never in it. Whether it was once in the charter and struck out, as I at first supposed, or whether it never was there, as it now appears, is quite immaterial to the argument and to the conclusion. It is not there. It was not in the charter when it was granted. It forms no part of it. That is the material fact. That the Docket contains it, is immaterial.

The king may, or may not, have read the charter, and the Docket, one or both. It is immaterial whether he read either. If he did read the charter, he must be presumed to have seen that the charter contained no clause confining the election of governors and other officers to England. If he trusted to

the representations in the Docket, or, not reading that, to the verbal representations of his officers, and thus supposed the charter to be what it was not, that cannot affect the rules which must govern the construction of the charter. The Docket itself formed no part of the charter, notwithstanding it was annexed to the draft of it submitted to the king; and neither that nor any verbal representations of his ministers, if there were such, could have been admitted to contradict or vary the construction of the instrument itself, which, in the absence of any ambiguity, or even in the case of an ambiguity arising from its terms, must be construed by a sound interpretation of its provisions, as appearing on the face of it. I appeal to learned gentlemen before me, who have held distinguished positions upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, if that is not the rule of law in relation to the construction of written instruments. They assent and sustain my position. But here is no ambiguity. The language of the charter, although it contains no express provision on this subject of the transfer, is consistent with itself. There is, in fact, nothing that requires explanation by extrinsic evidence. To use the Docket to give a construction to it, would be to raise an ambiguity and an uncertainty, instead of furnishing a solution of an existing doubt, while it would be a direct violation of one of the most ordinary rules of law. Whether the charter does or does not confer a power to establish government in Colony, must be determined by a consideration of what is contained in it.*

* The Docket was not introduced by me as forming any part of the charter, but as furnishing evidence historically of the intention of the grantor. Distinguished historians like Hutchinson, Chalmers, Robertson, and Graham, and jurists like Marshall and Story, have maintained, from an examination of the provisions of the charter itself, that it was intended to be executed within the realm, with power to establish a subordinate government and magistracy upon the plantation,—like the Great Plymouth Patent of Nov. 3, 1620. The eminent authority of Professor Parker is now brought to bear against this opinion. It seemed to me, therefore, not unreasonable, as to its bearing on the historical question, to introduce evidence to show the understanding of the crown

The propriety of the general rule is made manifest in this very case. Whatever was contained in the Docket, was a matter between the king and his officers, and not between his Majesty and the grantees. Not only had the grantees nothing to do with making up the Docket, but there is not a particle of evidence to show that any one of them ever saw it, or had any knowledge whatever of its contents. It would be gross injustice to restrict or limit the powers which the charter purported to confer; powers which, to a greater or less extent, induced the grantees to accept and act under it, — by a supposition on the part of his Majesty, wholly unknown to them, that it was restricted in a very important particular, of which supposition also they had no knowledge nor any means of knowledge.

But the case does not rest on this argument. It does not rest on the rule excluding extrinsic evidence, nor upon construction, derived from the terms of the charter itself. The contemporary construction, as shown, both affirmatively and negatively, is wholly in favor of the existence of authority, derived from the charter of course, to establish the government within the limits of the Colony, and goes to prove that it was not supposed by the king, or the law officers of the crown, that there had been any representations to his Majesty that the government had a 'local habitation' in England, which it could not lawfully change.

The grantees, within a few months after the charter was issued, proceeded, on due deliberation, and with competent

officers at the time of the granting of the charter, and the action of the grantees on receiving it.

That Professor Parker has given above a sound exposition of the law for the interpretation of private contracts and other strictly legal papers, I am bound to believe. Whether the same doctrine will apply to the interpretation of Municipal Charters or other instruments of a political or semi-political character, to the exclusion of what is called "contemporary exposition," may well be questioned. In interpreting the Constitution of the United States, an instrument framed within the memory of many now living, jurists and historians do not hesitate to cite the proceedings of the Convention which framed it, or the expositions of the writers of the "Federalist," or the doings of the First Congress. — NOTE BY MR. DEANE.

legal advice it would seem, to transfer the charter and the government to the Colony, and there to exercise all the authority which the charter conferred.

This thing was not done in a corner, and must have been known, almost immediately, to the king and his council. The fact came before them officially, in a very short time, by reason of complaints respecting some of the proceedings of the colonists; complaints, not of the organization and administration of government in the Colony, but respecting the manner of its administration, as it affected individuals.

If it had been supposed that there was no authority for such an organization within the Colony; nay, if it had not been understood, and well understood, that the authority existed, and that the colonists were lawfully acting under it, we should have before us plenary evidence of indignant remonstrance on the part of the crown officers, and such summary measures as the case admitted of, on the part of his Majesty, to put an immediate stop to the supposed unlawful proceedings.

But instead of this we do not find a lisp of an objection on this point from the king, or the councillors. On the contrary, when in 1632, upon representation by interested parties of "great distraction and much disorder" existing in New England, the matter was referred to the Privy Council, and examined by a committee, the council, so far from taking any objection to the government there, declared "that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertaking; and rest assured that if things were carried as pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patent is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing farther that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there, of that place." And his Majesty on the matter being repre-

sented to him, is reported to have "said, that he would have them severely punished who did abuse his governor and the plantation."

I submit that at this time, it could not but have been fully known that the charter was transferred, and the government established here, and that it is absolutely incredible that these proceedings should have been had, and these commendations expressed, if it had been understood by the law officers of the crown, that the government had a locality in England, as the Council of Plymouth had by its charter, and that the king had believed that the Docket so represented the purport and effect of the charter to him, and that he had been deceived in making the grant.

Again; if it had been understood that there was a legal objection to the transfer, and to the establishment of the government here, that objection must have appeared in the writ of *quo warranto* issued in the King's Bench, in 1635, for the purpose of procuring a conviction of usurpation and judgment of ouster against the grantees.

The establishment of the government here, if illegal, rendered all the acts done under it illegal. The objection, if valid, was open, palpable, and admitted neither of excuse nor evasion. But while more than a dozen other exceptions are taken, no objection of this character is raised or suggested. It transcends belief that there could have been an omission to take the objection if it had then been supposed that one of that character existed.*

It hardly strengthens the position, that the establishment of the government here was not only warranted by the charter, but that it was so understood from the outset, when I repeat,

* This process was not founded upon the mere assumption that there was no valid charter, but was, in part, upon an assumption that the company had no rights. There was judgment of seizure of the franchises. The objection that the company had no power to set up government in the colony, if well founded, would have been just as fatal, — just as good a ground for a conviction of usurpation, and judgment of forfeiture and seizure, — as the allegations which were, ostensibly, the ground of that proceeding.

further, that in the several attempts by the Lords Commissioners to obtain possession of the charter, for the purpose of revoking it, no objection of this character was made, and that it first appeared, in any official form, in the reign of Charles II. more than thirty years after the charter was granted and the government established here, and that it then had its origin with Randolph.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In the Lecture which has been published, I admitted that the words contained in the Docket, "*with such other privileges for electing governors and officers here in England, for the said company,*" were explicit enough to show that when that minute was made there was an intention that the corporation should have a 'local habitation' in England. And regarding this Docket as a memorandum made in the Council, I endeavored to account for the fact that the charter contained no such provision, and for the other circumstances tending to show that it was not supposed that the corporation was so confined and limited, by a supposition that this clause in the Docket was an early memorandum, and that there was a subsequent change of that intention.

When the papers now discovered in the inquiry instituted by Mr. Deane, were presented to my notice through his courtesy, my attention was naturally attracted to the fact that the Docket was a representation of the Attorney or Solicitor General to the King, respecting the object and purport of the proposed charter, and to the effect of that fact upon the argument; and I did not subject the terms of it to any strict scrutiny.

But a careful examination of it, and a comparison with Chalmers's copy of the memorandum found in the Privy Seal office, and which he called the "docquet," shows that there is a very material variance between them. To say nothing of the substitution in Chalmers's copy of the words, "*such other privileges*" instead of "*such clauses,*" which last is the language of the true docket, but which may not be material; there is an entire omission, in the document published by Chalmers, of an important clause directly following the words relating to the election of officers in these words, "*and powers to make laws and ordinances for settling the government and magistracy for the plantation there.*" So that this part of the Docket reads thus,—"Incorporating them," &c. "*With such clauses for the electing of governors and officers here in England for the said company, and powers to make laws and ordinances for settling the government and magistracy for the plantation there,*" &c.

Now it might savor of presumption were I to say that here are two distinct clauses, intended for different purposes; that the last supplements the first, with an additional and different power, which might supersede the use of the first; and that the true and undoubted meaning of this language is, that the charter gave power to elect governors and officers in England, and a further power to make laws and ordinances by which the government and magistracy might be

established [*settled*] in the colony, so that the governor and other officers might afterwards be elected there.

But I do say that the clause is susceptible of that construction; that such construction gives operation and significance to the whole of the language which I have quoted (which is required in construing instruments, if it may be done); that it renders the action of the grantees perfectly consistent with this language of the Docket, for they acted precisely in that manner (they elected a governor in England, and then made an ordinance for "*settling*" the government and magistracy of the plantation within the colony), that it explains why no objection was made by king or council when the government was *settled* here, because the right to do so was known and recognized; why no suggestion that such settlement was unwarranted was made when complaints were heard before the council of "great distraction and much disorder" in New England, and when the matter respecting that hearing was reported to the king; why no allegation was inserted in the process of *quo warranto* that this "*settling*," or setting up government here was a usurpation; why the Lords Commissioners made no objections of that character; and why, for thirty years, nothing was uttered from any official source, against the lawfulness of this settlement of the government and magistracy here.

With the real docket before me, I, at the least, should not have made an admission that there was evidence to show an intention, at any time, to confine the corporation to a local habitation in England.

The further memorandum in the Docket, that the corporation is to have such other privileges as were possessed by the Council at Plymouth, cannot affect this question. That corporation had a local habitation at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, by the express terms of the grant, and it was a restriction, rather than a privilege.

Mr. DEANE made a brief rejoinder to some of the remarks of Professor Parker; but he believes that what he said is substantially included in the paper read by him, and in the notes appended thereto.

JANUARY MEETING, 1870.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M., the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The Librarian read his usual list of donors to the library for the month preceding.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Thomas B. Akins, Esq., of Halifax, N.S.

The President announced as a gift to the library from our associate, Mr. Norton, now in Europe, copies of three letters of Columbus, in photographic *fac simile*, for which the grateful acknowledgments of the Society were ordered. (See p. 223.)

The President read a letter of invitation to the officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, from the Committee of Invitation at Peabody, Mass., to attend the funeral of the late Mr. George Peabody, to take place in his native town soon after the arrival of his remains in this country. Whereupon, on motion of Dr. Robbins, it was —

Voted, That the officers of this Society be appointed and requested to represent the Society at the funeral of their late honored associate, George Peabody, in compliance with the request of the Committee of Invitation in behalf of the Trustees of the Peabody Institute, and of the Committee of the town of Peabody.

The President called attention to the letter of Dr. H. I. Bowditch, relative to the Morton Memorials, read at the last meeting; in connection with which there was exhibited upon the table the Box containing the medals, &c., and also a volume of Letters and Documents relative to Dr. Morton's discovery and claims.

The Box contained a large Gold Medal from the National Institute of France, on the *obverse* of which is inscribed, "Institut National de France," and on the *reverse*, "Aca-

démie des Sciences; Prix Montyon Médecine et Chirurgie; Concours de 1847 et 1848; Wm. T. G. Morton, 1850." Also a "Cross of the Order of St. Vladimir, Russia"; and a "Cross of the Order of Wasa, Sweden and Norway." It also encloses a large Silver Box, bearing this inscription: "This box, containing one thousand dollars, is presented to William Thomas Green Morton, by the members of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and other citizens of Boston, May 8, 1848. 'He has become poor in a cause which has made the world his debtor.'"

The volume of Letters is inscribed on the outside of the cover, "Morton's Claims to the First Use of Ætherization in Surgery." In this volume is written the conditions on which these memorials are deposited in the cabinet of the Historical Society. This volume, and the box containing the medal and crosses, are placed in a case of black-walnut, so that they can be easily seen.

Dr. BOWDITCH also sent some papers to the President, expressing the hope that gentlemen might be induced to subscribe to a fund for the erection of a simple monument over the remains of Dr. Morton, at Mount Auburn, and also to make some provision for his surviving family.

These Memorials were referred to the Standing Committee, to be cared for agreeably to the terms on which they were deposited in the cabinet of the Society.

The President asked the leave of the Society to have a cast taken from Powers's bust of Mr. Peabody in the Dowse Library, which was granted.

Mr. DEANE read the following letter from Mr. Thomas Carlyle:—

5 CHEYNE ROW, CHELSEA, 21 Dec., 1869.

DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your serial number of Proceedings, which arrived duly the other night; and which, especially the paper on Montcalm's letter, I have read with interest and pleasure. Mr. Parkman's faithful industry is worthy of all recognition, equally so Marquis de Montcalm's accuracy and candour, and your Society's wise decision on that strange document.

Here in England, for above a year past, — when a new edition (7 volumes post octavo) of that book on *Friedrich* was sent forth, — there has been no doubt left but the Almon pamphlet was a FORGERY. On page 117, vol. VI., of that new edition, there has — to the foot-note of edition 1865, in reference to that letter of Montcalm's, as you already have both foot-note and it — this conclusive postscript been added, which, since you evidently have not yet seen it, I here copy and enclose.

The postscript here follows : —

"A forgotten book" (*note of first edition, 1865*). "A copy is in the Boston Athenæum Library, New England; it is a pamphlet rather than a book; contains two letters to Berryer, *Ministre de la Marine*, besides this to Molé, the cousin; publisher is the noted Almon, — in French and English." (*From Boston Sunday Courier, of 19th April, 1868, where this letter is reproduced.*)

In the Temple Library, London, I have since found a copy, and, on strict survey, am obliged to pronounce the whole pamphlet a *forgery*, especially the two letters to "*Berrier, Ministre of Marine*," who was not yet minister of any thing, nor thought of as likely to be, for many months after the date of these letters addressed to him as such! Internal evidence, too, were such at all wanted, is abundant in these Berryer letters; which are of gross and almost stupid structure in comparison to the Molé one. As this letter has already got into various books, and been argued in Parliament and high places (Lord Shelburne asserting it to be spurious, Lord Mansfield to be genuine: *Report of Parliamentary Debates, in Gentleman's Magazine for November and for December, 1777*; p. 515, 560), it may be allowed to continue here in the *condemned* state. Forger, probably some ex-Canadian or other American *Royalist*, anxious to do the insurgent party and their British apologists an ill turn in that critical year; — had shot — off his pamphlet to voracious Almon, who prints without preface or criticism, and even without correcting the press. (*Note of July, 1868, Vol. VI., p. 117, of Carlyle's Friedrich, London, 1869.*)

Mr. Carlyle then proceeds with his letter : —

If Mr. Parkman ever thought of publishing those *indisputable* Montcalm letters, — still better, if the Marquis de Montcalm should think of going into the French archives, and publishing as well a judicious selection of the many that must be there, — I should be very anxious to see them. Believe me yours sincerely,

T. CARLYLE.

TO CHARLES DEANE, Esq., *Recording Secretary, &c., &c.*

The reading of this letter called forth remarks from Mr. J. C. Gray and Mr. Parkman.

In the course of some remarks relative to Montcalm, the President stated that the well-known work entitled "Hawkins's Picture of Quebec," was put in shape and edited by his old school-master, Dr. John Carlton Fisher, formerly a resident of this city, and a fine classical scholar, who came over from England under the auspices of Edward Everett.

The President said he had received a letter from M. Jules Marcou, accepting membership in the Society.

The President presented a number of old papers from his family files, containing some interesting memoranda, of which copies are given below.

Mem^d Decemb^r y^e 28th 1712. [NEW LONDON, CONN.]

It being a fair warme morning, very unusuall for y^e time of year, when, towards night, y^e Hemispheer clouded, wth y^e wind at S.E. and began to Rain, and about eight of y^e clock at Night it Lightned wth very severer flashes, on a sudden, y^e it seem'd every where to be High day, immediately follow'd an extraordinary clapp of Thunder, I think y^e Hardest & loudest y^e ever I heard; y^e Tides also eb'd & flow'd 4 Times in less y^e an hours space, after a most surprizing manner, Six foot higher y^e y^e highest Spring Tides was ever known. It did considerable damage, but y^e Thunder was amazing and very terrible, breaking y^e House of one of y^e neighbours in Severall places, and hurting some of the children of Mr Hallam, and at some distance run along y^e ground, tore it up, splitt Trees, broke great rocks, kil'd 3. cows belonging to Mr. Edgecomb, and at a miles distance or more from this damage it shattered y^e windows, &c. of an another House of Mr Harriss. A most severer tempest of wind & rain follow'd for a short space, wth broke up y^e Coves & Rivers, in an instant, and y^e cleared up, and a bright moon light night follow'd, a little before y^e Full. M^r Adams y^e minister of y^e Towne preacht from y^e 26th of Job & y^e 14th verse, y^e Sabbath day following, and sung a part of y^e 18th psalm.

Y^e eating teeth of time devours all things. A Hogshead of ancient papers of value, belonging to o^r family, lost at Ipswich in New-Eng: A barrrell full of papers, &c. Burnt in a warehouse at Boston.

The Names of those Worthy & famous Ministers of the Gospel who have declared their Judgment in Print for the Congregation Way According to the former Practice of the Churches of New England, Even the Premative Practic . . .

Doc: Owen	Mess ^{rs} : Brighman	Mess ^{rs} : Ainsworth &	Mess ^{rs} : Hooker Jun ^r :
Doc: Ames	Calvin	Robinson	Lathrop
Doc: Fulk	Gartwright	Cotton	Street
Doc: Whitaker	Fenner	Davenport	Whiteling
Doc: Renolds	Parker	Hooker	Rogers Sen ^r :
Doc: Willet	Pirkins	Norton	Simms
Doc: Taylor	Baines	Burroughs	Elliott
Doc: Sibbs	Jacob	Howe	Mather Sen ^r : & Jr:
Doc: D. Tho: Goodwin	Wilson y ^e great	Allen of Dedham	of Dorchester
	Mitchell	Chancey P ^r sident	Higginson
And many Other Famous in their Generation			
Men of Renown? and y ^e five Decenting Ministers			
vis: Mess ^{rs} : W ^m : Bridge; Phillip Ney; Jos: Carell; Sydrack Symson.* }			
			Thatcher
			Shepard
			Stone
			Hartlett

Indorsed, — The Names of Ministers &c in favor of the Congregational way of Worship. No date.

The President announced as a gift to the Society from Mr. H. A. S. D. Dudley, of Roxbury, the portraits of Governor Joseph Dudley and his wife, Rebecca (Tyng) Dudley. These excellent pictures were probably painted in England, but there appears to be no tradition in the family as to the name of the artist.

The President said that this gift was accompanied by some valuable manuscripts, and he would call upon the Recording Secretary, Mr. Deane, for a description of them.

Mr. DEANE said that the papers presented by Mr. Dudley consisted chiefly of parchment deeds. The earliest was the *original* of the celebrated conveyance of the Province of Maine, by Ferdinand Gorges, Esq., to John Usher, the agent of the Colony of Massachusetts, for £1250, dated the 13th of March, 1677-8. Gorges's signature is appended to the instrument, but the seal is wanting. Usher's conveyance to the Colony is dated two days after that of Gorges; namely, the 15th of March. Copies of each are recorded in the office of the Secretary of State in Boston; and both have been published in the Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II. pp. 257-264.

* Thomas Goodwin was one of the five Dissenting Brethren. — Eds.

The original Commission to Joseph Dudley, as Deputy-Governor of the Province of West New Jersey, is among these papers. It is doubtful if Dudley ever entered upon the duties of that office. Dr. Coxe, in the following year, 1691, conveyed the government and territories to a number of persons associated under the name of "The West Jersey Society" (Smith's New Jersey, p. 207).

The only *printed* document is a broadside proclamation of Governor Dudley, for a "General Embargo," issued the 9th of June, 1711, the day after the arrival at Boston of Col. Nicholson, who went to England after the reduction of Port Royal to solicit another expedition against Canada, of which the ill-fated attempt of Sir Hovenden Walker, of that year, was the result. (See Hutchinson, II., 190.)

In this list will be found the manuscript "Life of Mr. Thomas Dudley," written probably by Cotton Mather. In the "Magnalia," at pages 15-19 of Book II., is a brief notice of Thomas Dudley, in the course of which Mather says: "I had prepared and intended a more *particular Account* of this gentleman; but not having any opportunity to commit it unto the *Perusal* of any Descended from him, (unto whom I am told it will be unacceptable for me to Publish any thing of this kind by *them not Perused*) I have laid it aside, and summed all up in this more *General Account*." The style of the manuscript, and the identity of certain passages and phrases in the two accounts, would seem to indicate one origin. The manuscript is not in Mather's handwriting, but in that of a contemporary. It may have been copied from the original for the use of the Dudley family, through whom it has now found a resting-place in the Library of this Society.

By referring to the printed "Proceedings" of this Society for February and April, 1858, it will be seen that Mr. George Adlard, of New York, forwarded to the Society a copy of this Life of Thomas Dudley (with some other papers) for publication. It had been transcribed by him from this manuscript, then

temporarily in possession of a gentleman in this city. This transcript, with the other papers sent by Mr. Adlard, were referred to a committee, of which the late Joseph Willard was chairman. The committee were not satisfied of the verbal accuracy of Mr. Adlard's transcript, and were unwilling to recommend the publication of the paper unless an opportunity could be had of comparing it with the manuscript from which it was copied. As that opportunity was not afforded them, Mr. Adlard's papers were placed in the possession of the Society, subject to his order.

In 1862, Mr. Adlard issued a volume, entitled "The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England," — a work of considerable interest. In this volume was printed the Life of Thomas Dudley, from the transcript made by him. By comparing this copy *as printed*, with the manuscript just deposited in the Library of the Society, it will be seen that the committee referred to were fully justified in the position they took; namely, that it would not be safe to print from Mr. Adlard's copy alone. Mr. Deane thought it was the duty of the Society now to print this memoir according to the early manuscript just intrusted to the Society's care.

The following is a list of the papers presented by Mr. Dudley, — a few of which are printed in full: —

1. Deed from Ferdinando Gorges to John Usher, of the Province of Maine, March 13, 1677 (1678, N.S.).
2. Oxford Patent granted to Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Coxe, by James II., dated Jan. 11, 1687 (1688, N.S.).
3. Deed of Tract of Land along the Charles River, granted to Joseph Dudley, signed by Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, July 5, 1688.
4. Confirmatory Deed of several Lots of Land in the Town of Roxbury, from Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, to Joseph Dudley dated July 20, 1688.
5. Grant of Land in the Nipmug country, called Manchaug, to Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton, dated Jan. 5, 1688 (1689, N.S.).

6. Commission of Joseph Dudley as Deputy Governor of the Province of West New Jersey; signed by Dr. Daniel Coxe, Governor of said Province, Dec. 5, 1690.

"To all People to whom this p'sent Writing shall come I Daniel Coxe of London Doct^r in Physick Governour of the Province of West New Jersey in America, and of the Islands and Territories thereunto belonging send Greeting, Know yee that I the said Daniel Coxe have nominated constituted and appointed in my place my well beloved Friend Joseph Dudley of Roxbury in New England Esq^r to be Deputy Governour of the said province of West New Jersey and the Islands and Territories thereunto belonging, hereby granting unto the said Joseph Dudley the full power authority exercise and office of Deputy Governour of the said Province Islands and Territories, and all and every such and the like powers authorities priviledges Jurisdctions Fees profits and perquisites as any Deputy Governour there, under his late Majesty when Duke of York, or any other Deputy Governour there by force or vertue of the several Letters Patents of his late Majesty King Charles the Second bearing date the Twelfth of March in the Sixteenth year of his late reigne, and the twenty ninth of June in the sixteenth or twenty sixth year of his said Reigne, or any deputation or deputations by from or under his late Maj^{ty} when Duke of Yorke, or by from or under any other Governour of the said province Islands and Territories or otherwise howsoever lawfully did might or ought to have used exercised or enjoyed in or Over the said province Lands territories People and Inhabitants therein or in any of them, To have use exercise execute and enjoy the said Office of Deputy Governour and all the said powers authorities priviledges and Jurisdctions, Together with all Fees profits and perquisites thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining Unto the said Joseph Dudley For and during the full Terme and space of Three yeares next ensuing after the first arrival of the said Joseph Dudley in the said Province of West New Jersey aforesaid If I the said Daniel Coxe shall soe long live and continue Governour of the said province, Soe alwaies That the said Joseph Dudley in the use and Exercise of the said Powers authorities and Jurisdctions shall pursue such lawful Instructions and directions as he shall from time to time receive from mee the said Daniel Coxe Provided That if I the said Daniel Coxe shall arrive in the said Province before the arrival of the said Joseph Dudley, there, or at any time afterwards within the said space of Three yeares, That then and in any of the said cases This present Grant and deputation

shall immediately from thenceforth be utterly void and of none effect, Anything herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof I the said Daniel Coxe have hereunto set my hand and seal this Fifth day of December Anno domini 1690 And in the Second year of the reign of Our Sovererigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the grace of god King and Queen of England, &c,"

"DAN: COXE"

"Signed sealed & deliv: by Dr. DANIELL COX
in presence of NICHOLAS HAYWARD Notary
Publick & Register of West New Jersey & of
the witnesses underwritten."

"RICHARD HAYNES
JNO: TUDER
DANIEL WHARLEY
THO: RICHARDSON
JAMES BRAIN
BENJ: BRAIN"

Quod attestor rogatus, Civitas
NIO HAYWARD,
1690. No. Pub.

7. Commission of William Dudley as Major of Foot in the Province of Massachusetts Bay; signed by Joseph Dudley, Governor, Dec. 9, 1710.

8. A Proclamation for a General Embargo, June 9, 1711 — a printed broadside.

[This proclamation is printed on the following page, in order that it may be given entire on one page.]

9. The Life of Thomas Dudley.

[The Life of Dudley will be found, farther on, printed entire.]



By His *EXCELLENCY*,

Joseph Dudley Esq.

Captain General and GOVERNOUR in Chief, in and over Her
Majesties Provinces of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hamp-*
shire in New-England, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

A PROCLAMATION

For a General Embargo.

In Obedience to Her Majesties Commands:

I Do, by and with the Advice of Her Majesties Council, hereby
Order a strict Embargo upon all Outward bound Merchant
Ships and Vessels; and that none be permitted to Sail from the
several Ports and Harbours where they now are until further Order;
Except Fishing and Coasting Provision Sloops and Vessels, Wood
and Lumber Sloops. Of which all the Officers of Her Majesties
Customs, Naval and Impost Officers, Captains and Commanders
of Castles and Forts are strictly Commanded to take Notice and
Govern themselves accordingly. And not to Grant Clearings or
Passes, nor to suffer any Ship or Vessel, other than as aforesaid,
to Sail out of any Port or Harbour, or to pass any Castle, Fort or
Fortification, without particular Express Order for the same from
my Self.

Given at the Council Chamber in *Boston* the Ninth Day of *June*, 1711.

In the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady *ANNE*,
by the Grace of GOD of GREAT BRITAIN, *France* and *Ireland*,
QUEEN, Defender of the Faith, &c.

By Order of the Governour, by &
with the Advice of the Council,

J. DUDLEY.

Isaac Addington Secr.

GOD Save the Queen.

THE LIFE
OF
MR. THOMAS DUDLEY,

SEVERAL TIMES GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS COLONY, IN NEW ENGLAND.*

MR. DUDLEY was born in the town of Northampton, in the year 1674.* His father was Captⁿ Roger Dudley, who was slain in the wars, when this his son & one only daughter were very [young]. But he might say in his experience that when he was forsaken of father and mother, then God took him up & stirred up some friends that took special charge of him even in his childhood. 'Twas said, that there was five hundred pounds left for him in an unknown hand, which was not so long concealed but that it came to light in due time, and was seasonably delivered into his own hands after he came to mans estate; but before that time he passed through many changes, wherein he found the goodness of God, both in way of protection and preservation, by all which experiences he was the better prepared for such eminent services for the Church of God which he was in after time called unto. In his minority & childhood it pleased God to move the heart of one Mrs. Puefroy, a gentlewoman famed in the parts about North-Hampton for wisdom, piety and works of charity: by her care he was trained up in some Latin school, wherein he learned the rudiments of his grammar, the which he improved afterwards by his own industry to considerable advantage, so as he was able even in his age to understand any Latin author as well as the best clerk

* An error for 1674. The true year of his birth is said to be 1676.—Eds.

in the country that had been continually kept to study ; which made it the more remarkable in the observation of some ministers, in whose hearing he was sometimes occasioned to read something out of a Latin book, who, by his false pronunciation gathered * he did not understand what he read ; but upon further search and enquiry they found that he understood the language as well as themselves, altho for want of school literature he missed the true pronunciation according to the rules of grammar to which children are exactly held at school ; and probably after the decease of his parents he had not opportunity of that advantage, so long as many children under their parents wings [fai]led to enjoy it. But so soon as ever he had passed his childhood he was, by those that stood his best friends, preferred to be a page to the Earle of North-Hampton, under whom he had opportunity to learn courtship & whatever belonged to civility & good behaviour. With that Earle he tarried till he was ripe for higher services, and then was taken by Judge Nichols to be his clerk, who being his kinsman also, by the mother's side, took more special notice of him ; and from him, being a prompt young man, he learned much skill in the law, & attained to such abilities as rendered him capable of performing a Secretary's place, for he was known to have a very good pen, to draw up any writing in succinct and apt expressions, which so far commended him to the favour of the judge that he would never have dismissed † him from his service, but have preferred him to some more eminent and profitable employment under him, but that he was prevented by death to put in execution what he had designed for his further promotion. But by this time he had attained to so much skill as to know how to live in the world, and undertake businesses of considerable moment, as was well known afterwards when it came to the trial. But before any opportunity of that nature fell out, which called him to put in practice what he had learned, or was able to do by his pen, he was called

* Mr Adlard prints, "false pronunciation altered." — Eds.

† Mr. Adlard prints, "assigned him from his service." — Eds.

to attempt something by his sword ; for being a young gent^l well known in & about North-Hampton for his wit, metal and spirit, when once there came down a press from the Queen for the raising soldiers to go over into France, in the time of the civil wars in Henry the Fourths days, the young lads about North-Hampton were none of them willing to enter into the service till a commission was sent down to this young gallant to be their captain, and then presently there were fourscore that were willing to list themselves under him as their captain. With these he was sent over into France, which being at that time an Academy of Arms as well as of Arts, he had opportunity to furnish himself with such military skill as fitted him to command in the field as well as on the bench. The service that he and his company were put upon in France was to help Amiens, before which city the King at that time lay. But Providence so ordered it that when both parties were drawn into the field, by some interposition or other, a treaty of peace prevailed, which prevented engaging in any battle for that time. Whereupon young Captain Dudley, perceiving that the King of France was persuaded to put up his sword, and that the end of his service was obtained without shedding of blood, he returned back into England, having in this expedition learned so much skill and experience in military affairs as might enable him the better to manage designs of that nature, if he was ever like to be called thereunto.

After his return into England he settled again about North-Hampton, & there meeting with a gentlewoman both of good estate and good extraction, he entered into marriage with her, and then took up his habitation for sometime in that part of the country, where he enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Dodd, Mr. Cleever, & one Mr. Winston, who was a very solid and judicious divine as any thereabouts, tho he never published anything in print as some others did. By the ministry of these men, as likewise of Mr. Hildersham, a man famously known, all England over, by his writings, it pleased the Almighty to sea-

son this Mr. Dudleys heart with the saving knowledge of the truth, so as ever after he became a serious Christian, a great lover of religion, & follower of those ministers that either preached, professed or practised it. And those ministers before-named, of whom he was a constant hearer, being such as were then called Puritans or Non-conformists, Mr. Dudley was himself also moulded into the knowledge & persuasion of that way, so as he became a zealous asserter thereof, but yet so as they were only sober, orthodox divines & Christians, that he chose always to consort himself with; for there was no man that more hated fanatics and wild opinionists than he did, notwithstanding he was so strenuous an oppugner of conformity & the ceremonies of the Church of England, of which this following story may be a sufficient evidence.

As he was once riding up to London, out of North-Hamp-ton shire or Lincoln shire, that lyes more northward from London, he chanced to meet with a gentⁿ upon the road, with whom he fell into discourse as they rode along. This gentⁿ was in a little time ready to open his mind to Mr. Dudley, and being free of speech, intimated his dislike of conformity, and telling him that it was part or the principal end of his going to London, to move the Council Table for more liberty of conscience and freedom from the imposition of their ceremonies. Mr. Dudley was so well affected toward those things that he proffered * him when he came to London to bear him company whither he went upon that design, & that he would to the utmost of his power stand by him, to bring about any motion of that nature. The remains of their travelling together that day was wholly taken up with discourse of that nature, till they came to the inn where they minded to lodge at night. And that they might be better acquainted together, Mr. Dudley was willing to lodge with him in the same chamber, althô not in the same bed, because he was utterly a stranger to him,

* Mr. Adlard prints, "*he preferred time when he came to London.*"—Eds.

saving what acquaintance he might have gained in the way. And so they spent the evening in amicable & religious discourse till bed time, when they took leave of each other. But after their first sleep & past the middle of the night, this strange gent^a being hot headed & full of wild notions, with which his brain was so much overheated that indisposed him to sleep; this occasioned him to call out to Mr. Dudley to see if he were awake; and finding that he either so was, or was willing to appear so, to gratify this his new friend, he p^resently entered upon strange & sublime fancies, to the amazing of Mr. Dudley; telling him that he was once persuaded that he himself was the Messiah. How! quoth Mr. Dudley, like one affrightend, what mean you by that? I say, quoth he, I did once really conceit myself to be the Messiah that was to come into the world; and I do now still think that I am the King of Jerusalem: with which words Mr. Dudley was so astonished, that he immediately with the bed staff knocked for the Chamberlain to carry him into another chamber, and prepare him another bed; for, says he, here is one says he is King of Jerusalem, and I do not know but before morning he may, like John of Leydens, take me for one of the enemies of his kingdom, & endeavor to assassinate me in my bed, as he did some of his followers; and therefore resolved to abide no longer with him in the same room, as was said of John the Evangelist, That he would not tarry in the same bath in which was Cerinthus,* the apostate and grand heretic. They that love the Lord must of necessity hate evil; and they that love his truth cannot but hate error that is contrary thereunto. By this first specimen of his zeal Mr. Dudley was the better prepared to encounter with the enemies of the truth in after time. By these and such like discoveries of his eminent worth and abilities, Mr. Dudley began to be well known in those places where his abode was, & by being a follower of Mr. Dod, he came into

* Mr. Adlard prints this "*Coricular*." — EDS.

the knowledge of the Lord Say & Lord Compton, & other persons of quality, by whose means he was afterwards commended to the service of the Earl of Lincoln, who was then a young man & newly come into the possession of that Earle-
dom, with the lands & hereditaments that belonged thereunto. The grandfather of this present Earle was called Henry, who being a bad husband had left his heirs under great entanglements, and his son, named Thomas, had never been able to wind out of that labyrinth of debts contracted by his father, so that all the difficultys were now devolved upon Theophilus, the grandchild, who was persuaded therefore to entertain Mr. Dudley as his Steward to manage his whole estate, who though it were so involved with many great debts, amounting to near twenty thousand pounds, yet his prudent, careful & faithful management of the demesns of that family, he in a few years found means to discharge all those great debts, wherein the young Earle was so ingulphed, that he saw little hope of ever wadeing through them all. But with Gods blessing on Mr. Dudleys pains & industry, he was soon freed of them. And another great and good service he did that family, by procuring a match between the daughter of the Lord Say and this Theophilus, Earl of Lincoln, who was so wise, virtuous, & every way so well an accomplished lady, that she proved a great blessing to the whole family. While Mr. Dudley was employed in this service under the Earl of Lincoln, there was a notable accident fell out, which discovered his eminent piety & prudence also; whereby he showed himself both zealous for the honour of God and the purity of his worship, as well as politic to evade the subtle contrivances of profane persons that intended to have brought him into a snare in some bargain that was made about the sale of some lands or parke, or some appurtanances thereof, by the injurious drawing of the writings that concerned the payment of the money. The day assigned thereunto happened to fall out upon the Lord's day. Now two Knights that were to make payment thereof, coming to understand how the day fell

out, and hearing that Mr. Dudley, the Earle's steward, was noted to be a strict Puritan, (with whom it was not usual to meddle with secular affairs, such as was telling of money, giving receipts, discharges, &c.,) resolved to try Mr. Dudley's conscience, whether he could not dispense therewith in an exigent of a great sum of money; and to that end they determined to come to the Earles house on the Lords day morning, bringing the money along with them; Mr. Dudley perceiving their intent, and foreseeing the inconvenience which might follow if the money proffered should be refused. Mr. Dudley therefore found out a device to be even with them & yet not wrong his conscience in breaking the Sabbath; for he told the Knights that if they would needs pay the money that day and no other, they might tell it out if they would (which was their sin and not his). And, saith he, I will wait upon my lord to the church, and then come back and wait upon your selves. So carrying them into the great Hall, he directed them to lay their money upon the table, and tell it over, if they pleased; which being done by that time he came back from the church door, after his attendance upon his lord; and then finding the money ready told upon the table, he caused some that were about him to turn the money immediately into a great iron bound chest that stood at the end of the table, which having a spring lock the lid fell down and locked of it self. Now, says Mr. Dudley, I must return to the church to hear Dr. Preston, (who then preached before the Earl) and for your money I will take your tale of it, and never trouble my self at this time to tell it over again; or if that like you not, here is the key of the chest, which you may keep for your security, if you please, till the next day, when we shall have more leisure to discours those points. The Knights perceiving how handsomely they were caught, forthwith went with him to the church; and the next day one of them gave him fifty pieces that he would not make them a country talk for this business sake. Sometimes the wise are taken in their

own craft. By this instance it may appear that Mr. Dudley was not fit for such designs, and the Earle finding him so to be, would never after his acquaintance with him do any business of moment, without Mr. Dudley's counsel or advice. Some of those that overlooked his manuscripts found such an expression as this, not long after he left the Earl's family: I found the estate of the Earl of Lincoln so much, and so much in debt, which I have discharged, and have raised the rents so many hundreds p^r annum. God will, I trust, bless me & mine in such a manner as Nehemiah sometime did, appealing unto the judgment of God, that knew the hearts of all men, that he had walked in the integrity of his heart before God, to the full discharge of the duty of his place. Towards the latter end of King James his reign, when there was a press for soldiers to go over into Germany with Count Mansfelt, for the recovery of the Palatinate; when the matter was first motioned, the Earl of Lincoln, who was zealously affected toward the Protestant interest, was strongly inclined to have gone over with the said Earl or Count, and should have been a Colonel in the expedition, yet resolving not to go without Mr. Dudley's advice and company; and therefore he sent down to Boston, in Lincolnshire, where Mr. Dudley then sojourned, to come forthwith to London, to order matters for this enterprise, and to be ready to accompany him therein. Mr. Dudley knew not how to refuse to wait upon his lordship, yet thought it best, as well for himself as for the Earl, to take the best counsell he could in a concern of so high a nature, not being unmindful of what Solomon said, "with good advice make war." Therefore he resolved with himself, in his passing up to London, to take Cambridge in his way, that he might advise with Dr. Preston about the design, who was a great statesman as well as a great divine, at least was conceived very well to understand the intrigues of the state in that juncture; and he altogether dissuaded Mr. Dudley, or the Earl, from having anything to do in that expedition, laying before them the

grounds of his apprehensions, on which he foresaw the sad event of the whole, as did really soon after come to pass. Dr. Preston, by reason of his frequent intercourse with the Earl of Lincoln's family, was free to discover to Mr. Dudley all that he knew, and he improved it thoroughly to take off the Earle's mind from the enterprise; altho he was so far engaged therein as having shipt an whole troop of horse upon that account, and one brave horse for himself, valued at four-score or a hundred pieces, altho he were above twenty years old when he was sent away. 'Tis pity he had not been better employed, so as he might have answered the expectation of his lord and owner.

At another time, when the Earl of Lincoln (who it seems was wont to be very quick in his motions sometimes,) understood that there was like to be a brave fight at the Hague, in Holland, by reason of an interview of some great princes that were then to be present; it was but five days from the time when the Earl had the first notice of it till it was to be put into execution; yet such was his eager resolution, that he resolved, whatever hazard or cost he were at, he would be a spectator there. And no body was able to direct in the expedition so well as Mr. Dudley, who on the sudden he judged could so order all matters belonging to the Earls retinue, that in two days' time they might go from the Earles Castle of Semperingham, to the Hague, in Holland, to be p'sent at that great solemnity. When they came there, the Earl his spirits arose to such an height that he would by no means address himself to court the Count Palatine upon the knees, although he had been crowned King of Bohemia. Mr. Dudley began now to think that the Earls last error was worse than his first; however, he was forced to find out the best way he could to excuse it, which he did to the Palsgraves satisfaction.

It was about nine or ten years that Mr. Dudley continued in the Stewards place under the Earl of Lincoln; after which time, being wearied out with great employments, he was willing

to retire himself into a more private capacity ; for which end he left the Earles family and hired an habitation at Boston, under Mr. Cotton, with whom he became intimately acquainted ever after. But it was not many years before the necessity of the Earl of Lincolns affairs required his intermedling therein a second time ; for he had been in a manner unto him as Joseph was to Pharaoh in Egypt, without whose assistance he could carry on no matter of moment ; so that he was a second time called to accept of the Earl's employment, wherein he continued in a manner till he removed himself and his family into New England. For upon his second employment there the times began to look black and cloudy upon the Nonconformists, of which Mr. Dudley was one to the full ; and upon that occasion, when the enterprise for New England began to be set forth, Mr. Dudley embraced that opportunity, and so resolved to leave England and travel over the sea into the deserts of America, that there he might with other Nonconformists enjoy his liberty to the utmost of what he desired. Mr. Dudley was not among the first of them that embarked in the design for New England, which is the reason why he was not numbered among the Patentees. But after the rest of the undertakers began to be acquainted with him, they soon discerned his great wisdom and other abilities, which made them pitch upon him in the second place, after Mr. Winthrop, to be their Deputy Governor, when Mr. Humphreys, who had married one of the Earl of Lincoln's sisters, found himself so encumbered with businesses that he could not be ready to come along with the rest, in the year 1630. After they arrived here Mr. Dudley was deservedly so esteemed for his wisdom, piety, justice and zeal, that he was always accounted fittest to be Deputy, when Mr. Winthrop was chosen Governor ; till a necessity of gratifying some other of the undertakers was adjudged necessary to prevent a spirit of envy & jealousy that was ready to be borne in the minds of others, who were not in like manner admitted to share in the dignity of the government, which is so glorious a thing in the

eye of all mortals that it is oft-times very difficult to allay the spirit thereof. But when it was thought meet to make a change, the lot of advancement fell in the first place upon Mr. Dudley, who was the first that succeeded Mr. Winthrop in the Governor's place, into which he was chosen at the court of election in the year 1634; in which year there falling out some occurrences of more difficulty than before, Mr. Dudley was in a needful hour called to the government; for in the case that concerned Hocking, of *, who was slain at Ken-
 ebeck by some of Plymouth, Mr. Dudley differed from all the rest of the Bench, and yet was concluded afterwards to be in the right; & peradventure, if he had not been so steadfastly fixed to his own principles and judgment, but to have been swayed by the byass of other men's inclinations, some inconvenience might have fallen out; for the person murdered was one that belonged to the Lord Say, who was better known to Mr. Dudley than to any other gent^l upon the Bench, yet that did not sway with him to alter his judgment, when he saw he had reason on his side; yet did he not passionately oppose those that differed from him, but placidly bore their dissent. Mr. Dudley's wisdom in managing this business will best be understood by his own letter to Mr. Bradford, the ancient Governor of Plymouth, though at that time another was in place.

"Sir,

"I am right sorry for the news which Capt. Standish and other your neighbors and my beloved friends will bring unto Plymouth, wherein I suffer with you by reason of my opinion which is different from others, who are Godly and wise amongst us here; the reverence of whose judgments causeth me to suspect mine own ignorance, yet must I remain in it, till I be convinced thereof. I had thought not to have shown your letter to any, but to have done my best to reconcile differences betwixt us, in the best season and manner I could; but Capt. Standish requiring an answer thereof publickly in the Court, I was forced to produce it, and that made the breach so wide, as he can

* Piscataway. — Eds.

tell you. ' I propounded to the Court to answer Mr. Princes letter, your Governor, but the Court said it required no answer, it being an answer to a former letter of ours. I pray [you certifie] Mr. Prince so much, and others whom it concerneth [that no neglect or ill manners be imputed to me] thereabout.*

"The late letters I received from England wrought in me divers fears of some trials which are like to fall upon us; and this unhappy contention between you and us, and between you and Piscataqua, will hasten them, if God with an extraordinary hand do not help us. To reconcile this for the present will be very difficult, but time cooleth distempers; and a coffin danger approaching to us both, will necessitate our writing again: I pray you therefore, sir, set your wisdom and patience at work, and exhort others to the same, that things may not proceed from bad to worse. So making our contentions like the barrs of a castle, by that a way of peace may be kept open, whereat the God of Peace may have entrance in his own time. If you suffer wrong it shall be your honour to bear it patiently; but I go too far needlessly in putting you in mind of these things. God hath done great things for you, and I desire his blessings may be multiplied upon you more. I will coñit no more to writing; but commending myself to your prayers, I am your truly loving friend in our Lord Jesus,

THOMAS DUDLEY."

NEWTOWN, JUNE 4th, 1684."

By this letter it appears that Mr. Dudley was a very wise man and knew how to express his mind in apt and gentle expressions, not willing to provoke others, although he were never so confident that he was in the right; for by his wise and moderate proceedings in the case, he satisfied their neighbors at Plymouth, who thought they were injured by the unnecessary intrusion of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, in a matter which did not really concern them, and maintained peace at home amongst them that so much differed from him in the case then depending before them. Mr. Dudley indeed was not remiss in matters of justice, but severe enough; but yet

* The blanks in the MS. are supplied from a copy of this letter in Bradford's Hist of Plymouth Plantation, p. 320. — Eds.

when matters were not clear he was slow to proceed to judgment, as most wise men used to be.

He was highly accounted of always for his wisdom in managing of affairs of the greatest concernment, and therefore was at the first called to be one of the standing council of the Massachusetts, while that trust was put in the hands of the first three, where it remained for several years, when it was arrested out of their hands by the importunate striving of some gentlemen of a more popular spirit, and so was afterwards shared amongst all the assistants in common. And as the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts has large experience of Mr. Dudley's wisdom and zeal in many cases of moment and difficulty all the time that he was able to steer the affairs of the commonwealth; so in an especial manner in the time of the familistical opinions* that were broched in the country, Anno 1636, 1637, when the country was in danger to have been over-run with that sort of men; but for Mr. Dudley's courage and constancy to the truth, things issued well; he being always found to be a steadfast friend thereunto, & one that would not shrink therefrom, for hope of favor or fear of enemies.

After our Hooker and his church removed out of the bounds of the Massachusetts, Mr. Dudley, not willing to remove so far from the center, took up his station at a nearer stand, viz., at a place then known only by the Indian name of Agawam, since called Ipswich, and twenty six miles from Cambridge, alias Newtown, his first seat; but the country soon found a need of his wisdom to help to strengthen them, in that storm of trouble that began to arise immediately after his removal, so as the necessity of the Government and importunity of friends, enforced him to return back two or three years after his going away. The town he returned unto was called Roxbury, within two miles of Boston, where he was near at hand to be counselled or advised with in any exigent; divers of

* Mr. Adlard has it, "*fanatical* opinions." — Eds.

which did presently appear after his return; of him it was verified what the poet saith, "*Virtutem presentem odimus, sublatam ex oculis quærimus invitis.*" At one time in the year 1641,*

to accept the place of

he was chosen unto

kindness he met withal, yet comforted him

his coming to Roxbury,

it pleased God to take away his first wife, by whom he had one son and four daughters; the first of which four was, in her father's lifetime, endowed with so many excellencies, as not only made her known in the gates of her own city, but in the high places of the world, by some choice pieces of poetry, published with great acceptation, as may be seen by the testimony of sundry gent^{le} well skilled in that art, prefixed thereunto. Of her may Solomon's words be really verified,—"though many other daughters had done wonderfully, yet she excelled them all." But to return; the loss of Mr. Dudley's former wife made way for a second choice, by whom he had three children, the eldest yet surviving, who may be likely to inherit his father's honor & dignity, as well as his name, place and virtues. He was a man of a great spirit, as well as of great understanding; suitable to the family he was, by his father, descended from; and envy it self cannot deny him a place amongst the first three that ever were called to intermeddle in the affairs of the Massachusetts. He was endowed with many excellent abilities that qualified him thereunto; for he was known to be well skilled in the law, for which he had great opportunities under Judge Nichols. He was likewise a great historian, and so could converse with the dead † of former ages, as well as with those amongst whom his own lot was

* The blanks are in the MS. Mr. Adlard prints, "in the year 1641, *quickly after* his coming to Roxbury," &c. The words "*quickly after*" are written into the MS. by a later hand. — Eds.

† Mr. Adlard has it, "*emerge with the seed of former ages.*" A few only of his errors are noticed. — Eds.

cast. He had an excellent pen, as was accounted by all ; nor was he a mean poet. Mention is made by some of his relations of a paper of verses, describing the state of Europe in his time, which having passed the royal test in King James's time, who was himself not meanly learned, and so no unmeet judge of such matters ; but in his latter times he conversed more with God and his own heart, foreseeing his own change fast approaching upon him, which he discovered by a small parcel of verses, found in his pocket after his death ; which were those that follow : —

"Dimme eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach shew,
My dissolution is in view
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing dye.
My shuttles's shut, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done.
My span is measured, [my] tale is told,
My flower's faded & grown old.
My life is vanish'd, shadows fled,
My soul's with Christ, my body dead.
Farewell, dear wife, child^a & friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends,
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy agen.
Let men of God, in courts & churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Least y^t ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To pay you all with hesey & vice.
If men be left & otherwise combine,
Mine epitaph's — I did no hurt to thine."

These were good ornaments to a gent^l, but that which crowned all, was his sincere piety, exact justice in his dealings, hospitality to strangers, and liberality to the poor ; which the approbation that God himself gives of a man that shall be blessed to keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment ; and commanding his family so to do, in order to obtaining the good of the covenant with God himself. He lived to a good old age, being full of days before he was called hence ; when he was found as a shock of corn, that cometh in in his season, being entered into the seventy seventh year of his age :

his death happened on the 31st of July, 1653, at Roxbury, where he was honorably interred. One of the ministers of the coun[try] honored him with a small parcel of verses, both Latin and English, in remembrance of his stedfast adherence to the truth in the dangerous time of error, when many were ready to turn aside therefrom.

(Indorsed,)

“THE LIFE OF THOMAS DUDLEY,
SEVERAL TIMES GOVERNOR OF
MASSACHUSETTS COLONY OF NEW ENGLAND.”

In presenting these papers to the Society, Mr. Dudley stated that his family were once in possession of other papers which had been borrowed from time to time by persons professing an interest in antiquarian pursuits; and, he feared, had never been returned. The most of these now presented to the Society had only recently been recovered, after having been long missing.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. H. A. S. D. Dudley, for the very valuable donation made by him this day to the Library and Cabinet of the Society.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. DEANE, who was detained by illness, Mr. SMITH was appointed Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, and read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian announced the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Pierre Margry, of Paris.

The President read the following letter from our associate, Mr. Norton, relative to the photographic copies of three letters of Columbus presented at the last meeting:—

VILLA D' ELIE }
FUORI DI PORTA SAN GALLO. }
FLORENCE, Dec. 23, 1869.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of sending to you a few days since photographic copies of three autograph letters of Columbus, the originals of which are in possession of the Municipality of Genoa. I beg you to do me the favor to offer the photographs to the Historical Society in my name. I obtained them during a recent visit to Genoa, at the palace of the Municipality, where, through the kindness of Signor De Simoni, Capo Ufficio al Municipio, I had opportunity to see the originals, as well as the book made by order of Columbus, containing copies of diplomas, patents, and privileges granted to him, to which he refers in two of the letters. The volume is in perfect preservation, and still remains “in una sacca di cordovano colorato, con la sua serratura d'argento.”

The story of this interesting volume is told, and its contents are printed, in the well-known work entitled *Codice Columbo Americano*, printed at Genoa, in 1823, in 4°. An English translation of this work was published, if I am not mistaken, in London; and I think that the library of the Historical Society must contain a copy of the original or the translation.* In this work two of the letters of which I have sent you the photographic copies, are engraved in fac-simile,—the two addressed to Niccolò Oderigo, ambassador of Genoa at the Spanish Court.

I also send to you a little volume printed at Milan in 1863, entitled “Lettere Autografe di Cristoforo Colombo, — nuovamente stampate.” This is of some interest as containing a reprint, asserted to be the first (see p. 66), of the original Spanish text of the letter of Columbus to Raffaele Saxis, announcing his discovery of the New World. The fac-similes of the woodcuts that adorned the edition of 1493 give to this reprint a special value.†

* The title of the English translation of the work referred to is, “Memorials of Columbus; or A Collection of Authentic Documents of that Celebrated Navigator,” &c. “Preceded by a Memoir of his Life & Discoveries,” &c. London: Treuttell and Wurz, Treuttell, jun. and Richter, 80 Soho Square. 1823.” — Eds.

† See “Proceedings” for August, 1865, for a notice of the original edition of this letter, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which a reprint is given in the volume here presented to the Society by Mr. Norton. The letter is not the one addressed to Saxis, but that to Luis De Santangel. — Eds.

I shall be much pleased if, during my stay in Italy, which will probably be prolonged for some months, at least, I can be of service to our Society, or to any of its members, in their historical pursuits.

With my best wishes for the prosperity of the Society during the coming year, and to yourself personally,

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

The President also read the letter below, from our venerable Honorary member, Horace Binney, to Hugh Blair Grigsby, which had been sent to him by Mr. Grigsby:—

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 6, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—A kind Providence has brought me to and beyond the day of the month and the age, to which you have been so kind as to refer by anticipation.

Your most agreeable letter has by its very accurate recapitulation, refreshed my memory as to nearly all the great public events of my life, in which, however, I have had little part personally. I may have seen some or all of the eminent men whom you name as actors in the Revolution of 1776, and survived the Treaty of Peace in 1783, a few years; but the freshest of these recollections is of Washington, who during nearly all the years of his Presidency, and at the end of it, occupied a house on Market Street, almost opposite to the residence of my mother, on the same street. I saw the great man last in 1798, when a student of law in my nineteenth year, when he came to Philadelphia to concert measures in regard to the provisional army, which was raised to meet our angry relations with France. My own first achievement in *public* life was the walking as one of the Philadelphia Academy boys, in the Federal Procession of 4 July, 1788, to celebrate the adoption of the Constitution, which had then been sanctioned by ten States. Perhaps that march to *Bush Hill* has contributed to make me a very strong Constitutionalist ever since.

What a review you have made for me, and what a happy memory you have, to retain remarkable events and transactions in your view! As you have retraced them to me, so have I been enabled to recall them, dates and all. But many of them sleep with me until so recalled, and I believe that, without exception, I concur in your view of all of them, and of their bearing on your great conclusion, and in that conclusion also, as in your inferences generally, that no Anglo-Saxon

people ever enjoyed such a long term of peace, prosperity, and honor, as our country enjoyed from 1783, the date of the Treaty of Peace, to 1860. I shall preserve your letter, as the best summary or *précis*, as the French call it, of the events, political and social, which have occurred in the Christian era, to substantiate the preference due to our institutions, that can be made.

I thank you especially for your felicitations upon my arrival at the age, the rather unusual age, of *ninety*. Mine has been a life of health, not much abused, nor yet very carefully nurtured, but having the root of a very good constitution, passed in wholesome country air and exercise from eight to eighteen nearly, and all the rest in this city. I am devoutly thankful to God for his many mercies to me; and have a strong sense of the kindness of friends who sympathize with me in my present capacity to enjoy life.

Let me not fail to tell you that your letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society* has given me great pleasure, as it must have given to the members of the body, as it ought to give to all Bostonians. My Boston half-blood makes me sure of this.

With great respect and regard, I remain your obliged and obedient servant,

HOR. BINNEY.

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, Esq., Charlotte Court-House, Va.

Thomas Carlyle was chosen an Honorary Member.

Mr. J. P. QUINCY presented a fragment of a letter relating to the battle of Bunker Hill, remarking as follows:—

“I present to the Society the first sheet of a letter giving a contemporary account of the Battle of Bunker Hill. A second sheet, which must have borne the name of the person addressed and the signature of the writer, is unhappily wanting. There can be little doubt, however, that the letter was addressed to Jeremiah Powell, the President of the Massachusetts Senate at the time of the Revolution. It seems to have been written by a citizen of Newburyport, who had just returned from visiting Mr. Powell at his estate in North Yarmouth. The letter was given to me by Miss E. S. Quincy, who received it, among other manuscripts that had belonged to Mr. Powell, from the late John Bromfield, of Boston. It is not unlikely

* See “Proceedings” for June, 1860. — EDS.

that the writer was his father, the brother-in-law of Mr. Powell, John Bromfield, of Newburyport."

The letter is as follows : —

NEWBURY PORT, 21st June, 1775.

We had a hot, dirty, disagreeable jaunt home. The horse almost gave out. We took our rout over Webster's Point, which is by far the best road, & so escap'd Salisbury Sands. Do you take the same in future. Experience we shall always find the best school m^r [master]. I have now the pleasure to tell you, I found all friends well, & in pretty good spirits, also that the news we heard on Sunday is not so bad as represented.

It seems a body of our men (the number uncertain, say from 500 to 1000 men) Fryday last took possession of Bunker's Hill, entrench'd that night, & the next morning got up five pieces of artillery. M^r. Cartwright was on the Hill Saturday morning & says the men work'd exceeding hard all night & no refreshment had been sent them of any kind; that they were almost suffocated with dust & choak'd for want of liquor. They expected to have been releiv'd early in the morning, but no releave came, & to add to their distresses they found the Regulars prepareing to pay them a visit, & the boats hurrying about with great velocity. Immediate notice was sent to head-quarters that our enemies were in motion. General Ward order'd without delay several regiments down to their assistance, & the two companies belonging to this town, among the rest, viz., Mess^{rs} Lunt's & Perkins's; as the latter rec^d. orders first he march'd down with all possible expedition & found the Regulars had landed and our people on the hill actually engag'd. Nevertheless he bravely march'd to their assistance, & was of eminent service. He fired away all his cartridges, & haveing some loose powder in his pocket, he was oblig'd to strip & tare off some part of his shirt to make wadding of, & when he had fir'd away all his powder he retreated without hat or wigg, & almost naked.

Stephen Jenkins behav'd with equal valor, & got himself much honor, as did Lieut. Whittemore, who got a flesh wound in his thigh. Another man in the same company kill'd two Regulars at one shott. They were both in pursuit of one of our men to take him prisoner, but death instantly seized them. Two are kill'd out of Perkins's Company, & nine wounded (not dangerously). The name of one kill'd is Norton, I can't learn who the other is. Lunt's company did not get up time enough to do much execution, & retreated again, haveing only one man wounded. M^r. Little, of Turkey Hill (who I have heard is lately

made a col^o.) show'd great courage, & march'd with those under his command, thro' two regiments of our men who were looking on at a distance, but were afraid to advance, he set them an example, it seems, which they did not chuse to follow — he proceeded till he found our people retreating from the Hill, being overpower'd by numbers. He cover'd their retreat & got off without much loss. He narrowly escap'd with his life, as two men were kill'd, one on each side of him, & he came to the camp all bespattered with blood.

Major Gerrish * was ordered also to Charlestown with a reinforcement, but he no sooner came in sight of the enemy than a tremor seiz'd him & he began to bellow, "Retreat! retreat! or you'll all be cutt off!" which so confus'd & scar'd our men, that they retreated most precipitately, & our soldiery now sware vengeance against him & determine not to be under his comm^d.

We are not yet able to ascertain the number of the enemy that landed at Charlestown. The acco^{ts} are from 3 to 6000. The number kill'd of them is also uncertain; some say five times the numb^r. kill'd of our men, & that ye number kill'd & wounded of the Provincials don't exceed 100, which falls far short of the number reported at Kensington. Thank Heavⁿ. for it.

But the greatest loss sustained is the death of Dr. Warren, a main spoke in the wheel of politicks at this critical juncture. He is universally lamented in the camp. It is said he rec^d. a mortal wound on the retreat & was offer'd assistance when he first fell, but declin'd it, saying he had but a few moments to live, & told the man who offer'd his assistance to go where he might be more servicable.

The man left him, & the enemy are in possession [The letter abruptly ends here, the other part having been lost.]

Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM spoke of the interest of the letter, and remarked that there are very few letters of this period containing such personal references.

The President announced that a new volume of Collections is now in press.

Dr. ROBBINS called the attention of the Society to the recent petitions to the Legislature in regard to the Hutchinson Papers, so called; and thereupon Dr. Ellis, Judge Parker, and Gov.

* This name, after it had been written, was, by some later hand, nearly erased with a pen.—ED.

Clifford were appointed a committee to take such action in the matter as the interest of the Society may require.

MR. FROTHINGHAM called attention to the valuable donation to the Library, of a set of Hening's Statutes, from our Corresponding Member, Mr. Grigsby, of Virginia, through Mr. Deane. The grateful acknowledgments of the Society were ordered for this acceptable gift.

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, 10th instant, at eleven o'clock, A. M., the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library for the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary announced a gift from Thomas B. Akins, of "A Brief Account of King's College, Windsor, N.S."; also, from Henry Stevens, two volumes, entitled "Historical and Geographical Notes."

The President read a letter from Mr. Edmund Dwight, communicating a gift from his father-in-law, Mr. Joseph Coolidge, of two volumes, being the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the supplies of the British Army in the Crimea," and the "Appendix" to the same.

The President referred to a *brochure* on the table from our Honorary Member, Count Circourt, entitled "Les Annales de la Cathédrale de Saint-Paul de Londres, Par Adolphe de Circourt," — a review of Dean Milman's History.

Suitable acknowledgments were ordered for these various gifts.

The President announced Part III. of the "Proceedings," embracing the months of September, October, and November.

He also noticed the death of our Corresponding Member, the Hon. William Willis, of Portland, Maine, and paid a fitting tribute to his memory.

Mr. DEANE also spoke of the service rendered by Mr. Willis, to the cause of history, enumerating his various publications.

Messrs. Thayer, Mason, and E. B. Bigelow were appointed a Committee to make the annual examination of the accounts of the Treasurer.

Messrs. Lincoln, W. G. Brooks, and Endicott were appointed a Committee to nominate a list of officers for the annual meeting.

The President referred to a recent interview with our senior member, Mr. Savage, who has been spending the winter in Philadelphia. He seemed very feeble in memory, though his bodily health was good.

The President then referred to a very noble full-length portrait of Washington, which he had seen for the first time, within a few days past, in the possession of his friend Henry E. Pierrepont, Esq., at Brooklyn, N.Y., and of which an interesting account is given in the following note:—

BROOKLYN, N. Y., 5 March, 1870.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP.

DEAR SIR,— Agreeably to your request, I will give you in a few words the history of my full-length portrait of General Washington.

My grandfather William Constable went to Philadelphia in 1796, to sit for his portrait to Gilbert Stuart. He then saw in his studio a full-length of Washington, which he was engaged in painting for the Bingham family, to be presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne. Mr. Constable admired the portrait, and prevailed on Mr. Stuart to paint him another at the same time, while Washington was giving sittings; so that my portrait was considered by my mother as a duplicate of that sent to the Marquis of Lansdowne.

I have Stuart's bill for the portrait, receipted by him in July, 1797.

Mr. Daniel McCormick, who was a friend of Mr. Constable and of the artist, and who died in New York in 1833, aged 94, mentioned the following anecdote to me in relation to this portrait. He said he met

Stuart with a turkey rug, and asked him what he intended to do with it. Stuart said he wanted it for his studio. As he had the reputation of being rather careless in the expenditure of his money, Mr. McCormick said, "You extravagant dog, why did you not buy a kiddermminster, which is cheap, and would have answered as well?" Mr. Stuart replied, "McCormick, you will see some day if I have done right."

Mr. Constable drove Mr. McCormick to Philadelphia to see the portrait, when it was finished. While they were looking at it, Mr. Stuart nudged him with his elbow and said, "Well, McCormick, what do you say to my carpet?"—"You have done right," McCormick replied.

From this jocular passage with his friend, it seems that Stuart had taken pains to copy the turkey rug very accurately in the portrait, and it harmonizes admirably with the other furniture he has introduced. Indeed, many artists have expressed the opinion that Stuart had paid more attention to the finish of the accessories and details of this large picture, than of any that he ever painted.

General Lafayette called on the widow of Mr. Constable, at my father's, in 1824. I was present, and heard him say while looking at the portrait of Washington, "That is really my old friend indeed."

In the year 1853, there was an exhibition of portraits of General Washington, in New York. I happened to be present when the venerable Lewis Marshall, of Kentucky, brother of Chief-Justice Marshall, came to see the portraits. His attention was called to the portrait by Wertmüller, which Mr. Irving has placed as a frontispiece in his *Life of Washington*. He said it made Washington look like a Frenchman. He was told that a portrait by Pine was reputed to be very like. He said, "It did not look like him when I knew him." He passed the portraits by Trumbull, Peale, Robertson, &c., without observation. He came last to the full-length portrait, which I have since inherited, and said with emphasis, "That is prodigiously like Washington."

I was then introduced to him, and he told me he had lived next neighbor to Washington in Virginia, and "remembered him with great vividness." He was much pleased with this portrait, and afterwards addressed me a note confirming his opinion of the accuracy of the likeness.

The expression of dignity and majesty in this portrait corresponds fully with the character of this great man, as portrayed in history.

I am, dear sir, with great respect and esteem, yours,

HENRY E. PIERREPONT.

Mr. DEANE made a few remarks on the volumes just presented to the Society by Mr. Stevens, and spoke of the value of the copies of early maps, in *fac-simile*, which accompanied them.

The President said that the Standing Committee had accepted for the Society an invitation from our associate, Mr. Richard Frothingham, of Charlestown, to meet at his house on the evening of Friday, the 18th instant.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held at the house of Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, in Charlestown, on the evening of Friday, the 18th of March, at half-past seven o'clock, the President in the chair.

In some preliminary remarks the President regretted the unpleasant state of the weather, and the bad condition of the roads, which kept many of the members at home that evening.

He read a letter from a gentleman in Bridgeport, Conn., offering to the Society the opportunity of purchasing the medal presented by Congress to David Williams, one of the captors of Major André: the descendants of Mr. Williams proposing to apply the proceeds of its sale towards the erection of a more suitable monument to his memory.

As the Society have no funds for the purchase of such memorials, no action was taken on this application.

The President said, that a gentleman in Boston had spoken to him of a copy of Mitchell's map, in possession of a family on "the Cape," with the inscriptions upon it as given below. The map, it is said, has upon it the famous "red line," as described on Mitchell's map, which figured so largely in the history of the negotiations between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, in 1842.

"A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America, with the Roads, Distances, Limits, and Extent of the Settlements, Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honorable, The Earl of Halifax, And the other Right Honorable, The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

"By their Lordships Most Obliged, and very humble Servant,

"J^N^S MITCHELL.

"This Map was Undertaken with the Approbation, and at the request of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and is chiefly composed from Draughts, Charts, and Actual Surveys of different parts of His Majesties Colonies and Plantations in America, great part of which have been lately taken by their Lordships Orders, and transmitted to this Office, by the Governors of the said Colonies and others.

"JOHN POWNALL, *Secretary*.

"PLANTATION OFFICE,

Feb. 13th 1755."

The President was assured that the Society, if it was thought desirable, could obtain possession of the map. Upon which, it was voted that the President should endeavor to secure the map for the Society's archives.

Mr. C. C. Smith was added to the Committee on the publication of the Winthrop papers.

Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM read a highly interesting paper on "The Declaration of Independence," which is to constitute a chapter in a volume by him, now in the press.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 14, 1870.

The Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, 14th April, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the stated meeting in March, and of the special meeting in the same month.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Thomas Carlyle.

The President then spoke as follows:—

You are aware, gentlemen, that this is our Annual Meeting; but, agreeably to usage, we proceed with our regular monthly business before entering on the more formal routine of Annual Reports and Elections. Before we pass, however, to any thing of a merely business character, it is fit that I should remind you that, since we met last, two names on our rolls have ceased to be the names of living members. One of them is the name of an Honorary Member, who was the contemporary and associate of Irving and Paulding and Sands and Cooper and Bryant of New York. The other is the name of a Resident Member, who was the associate and friend of our own Prescott and Everett and Sparks and Ticknor, and of others whom I see around me.

The name of the Honorable Gulian C. Verplanck, LL.D., has stood, for several years past, first in the order of seniority on our Honorary Roll. He was elected on the 27th of January, 1820,—more than fifty years ago. He died in the city of New York, his native place, on the 18th of March last, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Mr. Verplanck was a graduate of Columbia College, and a lawyer by profession. His life was, however, mainly devoted to politics, literature, and works of public usefulness. He was a representative in the Legislature of New York as early as 1814; and, after several years' service in that capacity, he was elected a representative in Congress in 1825, and was a conspicuous and valuable member of the National Councils for eight years. He subsequently served for some years in the Senate of his native State.

His labors, however, during this period were by no means confined to political subjects. In 1818, he delivered a lecture before the New York Historical Society on "The Early European Friends of America," which attracted much attention and passed through several editions. In 1821, he was chosen to a Professorship on "The Evidences of Christianity" in the General Episcopal Seminary established at New York, and not long afterwards published a collection of essays on "The Nature and Uses of the various Evidences of Revealed Religion." In 1825, he published a work, well known to the Bar, on the "Doctrine of Contracts." In 1827, he was associated with the late Robert C. Sands and with William C. Bryant in publishing one of the earliest of our American Illustrated "Annuals," called the "Talisman," of which three volumes were issued in successive years, and afterwards all republished, with the names of the authors, in 1833. During the same year, Mr. Verplanck published a volume of his collected "Discourses and Addresses on Subjects of American History, Arts, and Literature." Many other Discourses and Addresses were delivered by him in subsequent years; and between the years 1844 and 1847 he published an edition of Shakspeare, in three volumes, with illustrations and annotations, which gave ample evidence of his taste and accomplishments as an editor and interpreter of the immortal dramatist.

About this same year, 1847, the Board of Emigration Commissioners was established in New York, for the protection of

foreigners when first arriving on our shores, and Mr. Verplanck was immediately elected its President, — an office which he continued to hold and discharge with great zeal and energy until his death. He was connected, too, with many other boards and bodies of a charitable or religious character, and rendered valuable service to them all.

Nor did his literary labors entirely cease but with his life. Besides the annual reports which he prepared for fifteen years on the subject of emigration, and which were published in a volume in 1861, his "Twelfth Night at the Century Club," in 1858, and his Address on the opening of the New Tammany Hall on the 4th of July, 1868, — when he was eighty-two years old, — afford ample evidence that neither mind nor pen nor tongue had lost their cunning. He was active and vigorous and genial to the last. He seemed to have something of the strength and hardiness of one of those noble trees which adorn the park of the old manor house on the Hudson, in which he passed his summers. His leaf did not wither. His ruddy countenance and flowing silver locks have more than once recalled to me our own Leverett Saltonstall, the elder, as we knew him here a quarter of a century ago, and he could hardly have recalled a more cherished friend. Like him, he was a man whose warmth of heart and kindness of manner and earnestness of purpose endeared him to all who knew him, and he will be remembered by them all as a man whom it was a privilege to know.

The Rev. Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, D.D., died in this city on the 4th inst., in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Among the large congregation which attended his funeral, on the 6th inst., at the First Church, of which he was so long the pastor, were the officers and many of the members of this Society; and an admirable eulogy was delivered on that occasion by one whom we are glad to count among our immediate associates.

Dr. Frothingham was elected a member of our Society in 1843; and, until his infirmities confined him to his house, his presence at our meetings was as punctual as it was welcome. He took a warm interest, and sometimes a prominent part, in our proceedings. His impressive tribute to our lamented Prescott, and his charming verses when "the Crossed Swords" were transferred from Prescott's library to our own, cannot be forgotten by any one who had the good fortune to hear them. Nor shall we soon forget, I am sure, his last appearance among us, but a few years since, when, his sight having already failed him, he was led into these rooms by a devoted son, and paid an off-hand but touching tribute to the eloquence of the late Rev. Dr. Hawks, of New York, whose death had been on that morning announced.

Of Dr. Frothingham, as a preacher, it hardly becomes me to speak. I may be permitted to say, however, that of the only two sermons which I can remember as ever having heard from his lips, the texts of both, and the treatment of those texts, are as distinct in my memory, after a lapse of more than thirty, it may be more than forty, years, as if I had listened to them yesterday.

And this leads me naturally to the very few remarks upon his character and career which I shall venture to make in presence of so many of those who have been associated with him as classmates at school or at college, as pastors of sister churches, or, it may be, as parishioners of his own church, or as life-long friends and associates in theological or literary pursuits. To them it peculiarly belongs to bear testimony to his virtues and his accomplishments.

Whether as preacher, as scholar, or as poet,—for in all these relations he has enjoyed a high distinction in our community,—there was a force and felicity in his style, a picturesqueness of conceit and imagery, a fervor and glow of thought and diction, which made all his utterances impressive and memorable. He spoke and wrote from the fulness of a

warm heart and an earnest, noble spirit. Deeply imbued with a scholarship and a learning which had rendered him familiar with the best productions both of ancient and modern literature, his acquisitions only served to give richness and variety to the illustration of topics of which his own heart and mind were full. He occupied himself with no elaborate disquisitions or abstruse philosophies, but poured forth from time to time, from a rich storehouse of memory or imagination, sometimes in prose and oftener of late in verse, such words and thoughts as befitted the hour or the occasion. His heart seemed always intent upon the events which he witnessed, and always in sympathy with the joys or sorrows of those around him.

He had the strongest appreciation for the beautiful and the noble, in every form in which they are manifested to the sense or the soul,—in nature, in art, in music, in literature, in action, in character. It has happened to me to be with him in Rome, among the glorious remains of classic art; and in Switzerland, also, amid some of those wonderful scenes of pure, original, majestic nature. Frequently, too, some years ago, I have chanced to walk with him, at his favorite hour, and along his favorite path, across our own beautiful Common, towards the setting of an autumn sun. Everywhere he was filled with rapture for whatever was grandest or loveliest in the works of God or of man, and few men have known better how to give expression to such emotions. Not a few of his verses, whether original or translated, have lifted the hearts of hearers and readers, as they have lifted his own heart, in hours of trial or of devotion; and some of them cannot fail to have a permanent place in the occasional poetry, religious or secular, of our land.

I will not attempt to speak of the resignation and fortitude with which he bore the heavy load of personal deprivation and suffering, under which he has been withdrawn from us for some years past. It would seem, to any one who has been privileged to visit him during these days of darkness, as if he

must have caught the full spirit of a stanza of one of those inspiring German hymns, which he has translated with so much feeling and beauty :

“ Be brave, my heart ! and weary
Grow never in the strife :
The peace of God will cheer ye
With trust and strength and life.
Be vigorous, not complaining,
And every effort bend :
This very day, at waning,
May see the conflict end.”

Happily for him, the conflict has at last ended ; and it only remains for us to do justice to his memory.

I am instructed by the Standing Committee to offer the following resolution : —

Resolved, That in the death of the Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., this Society has lost one of its most respected and accomplished Associates, and that the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for our volume of Proceedings.

The Resolution was seconded by Dr. WALKER, who said, —

MR. PRESIDENT, — In moving the adoption of the Resolution I feel that the remarks with which you have introduced it have left me but little to say.

Dr. Frothingham represents a class of clergymen more common formerly than now, who are at once clergymen and scholars, and who are drawn to the profession, in part at least, by the opportunity it affords for scholarship. He was, I suppose, more of a scholar than a theologian ; though his scholarship was not without its effect on his professional studies, especially in matters of history and criticism. He loved books, and his mind was ever open to new truth, but he took comparatively little interest in new measures ; indeed, he can hardly be said to have had a single quality of mind or heart fitting him to become a platform orator. I say not this to his dispraise. Meanwhile he was an example to us all in the faithfulness and painstaking with which he prepared himself,

week after week, for the pulpit, where his success would have been greater than it was except for the circumstance that many of his felicities of thought and expression could only be appreciated by scholars like himself.

Several of his hymns and other poems are not only exquisitely finished, but breathe a profoundly devotional spirit, and show that the author knew how to commune with God. In general society there was often a reserve upon him which some may have construed into coldness or indifference; but to his intimate friends his manner was singularly gentle and tender and affectionate. This made him very dear to them, and it makes his memory very dear to them.

Dr. LOTHROP also addressed the meeting, and the Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Dr. Hedge was appointed to prepare the Memoir of Dr. Frothingham for the Society's Proceedings.

The President presented a number of pamphlets from our Honorary Member, Count Circourt, containing articles written by him; namely, the numbers of the "*Annales Franc-Comtoises*," &c., for September and October, 1869, containing "*Mémoires de Jules Chifflet, Abbé de Balerne*"; the "*Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*" for April, 1868, and July, 1869; the former containing an article entitled "*Le Journal d'une Reine*," being a notice of "*Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861, edited by Arthur Helps*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1868"; the latter containing a review of a work entitled "*Marie-Antoinette, Reine de France, par James de Chambrier, 2 vols. in 8vo.. Neuchâtel, London, et Paris, Hachette, 1868*"; and a pamphlet entitled "*La Confédération Suisse*. Paris: Charles Dounoil, Libraire-Editeur, 29 Rue Tournon, 1870." The President was requested to acknowledge the above.

The President also presented the Prospectus of the "*Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*," a publication proposed to be made of one of the treasures of the monastery of La Cava, one of "the

once mighty and still splendid monasteries of the kingdom of Naples." The Prospectus was transmitted by Count Circourt, who says of these monasteries: "They have been threatened with dissolution; but, upon the unanimous voice of the literary world (Dean Stanley has been most active for their preservation), they have been spared, — not, indeed, as convents, but as repositories of the national archives and as literary institutions. . . . Now, they do endeavor to publish the inedited and almost infinite riches of their archives. Nothing in the shape of ecclesiastical and canonic matters: the whole relates to the civil rights, the legislation (especially of the Lombard principalities), the general and provincial history, the commercial relations and connections with the Mussulman world during the Middle Ages. In a word, the mere reading of the Prospectus will convince you that no publication could be of more use to students than this one; but the editors must be helped. I wish greatly that, through your kind mediation, some of the great literary establishments of your country would subscribe to the Codex Cavensis. America has, of late, done wonders in founding universities and collecting libraries: few better occasions can occur for enriching these recent and already opulent collections."

The President also read a letter from Mrs. Jules Marcou, of Paris, a grand-daughter of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, addressed to our Associate Mr. Ticknor, in which she speaks of an article in the Boston "Daily Advertiser" of the 12th of March last, on the subject of the "Boston Massacre," so called. In this article reference is made to the testimony of one Jeremiah Belknap, supposed by the writer to be the historian of that name, as to what was witnessed by him on that fatal evening of the 5th of March. Mrs. Marcou desired to correct this statement, saying that Dr. Belknap at this time was a settled minister at Dover, and that the person referred to was an uncle of the historian.

Mr. Deane read a letter from Judge Henry F. French, of

Concord, Mass., communicating the article referred to by Mrs. Marcou, of which he was the writer. In the article, mention is made of a William Merchant, one of the young men who was present at the affray on the evening of the 5th of March, as being of a well-known family in Boston, and as having descendants of great respectability, among whom was the wife of Judge French. A portrait of Merchant, painted in 1755 — the family tradition says, by Copley — when the subject of it was a child, at the age of five years, is in the possession of Judge French.*

The President, referring to a discussion before the Society a few years since, as to whether persons said to have attained the age of one hundred years were really so old as alleged, read an account from the "New York Observer" of March 17th, of a banquet given on the 9th of March by General J. Watts De Peyster, of that city, to Captain F. Lahrbush, in honor of his *one hundred and fifth* birthday. General de Peyster gave a sketch of this wonderful man. The "Observer" says, —

"He was born in England, March 9th, 1766. At the age of twenty-three he entered the British army. He was with Lord Nelson when Copenhagen was taken; he was in the battle of Jena; he saw the famous interview between Napoleon and Alexander, in 1807, at Tilsit, on the raft; he was shot in the leg at Valencia, in 1808; he was on the field at Corunna, where Sir John Moore was killed. At the battle of Busaco, in 1810, he was wounded in the head and left for dead on the battle-field. Afterwards he was in the army in South Africa, and for three months was one of the British guard over Napoleon, at St. Helena. In 1818, at the age of fifty-two, he sold out his commission in the army, and travelled extensively

* A second article written by Judge French, giving more full details of the genealogy of the Merchant family, appeared in the "Daily Advertiser" (Supplement) of May 12. In this he shows that the portrait was probably painted two years later than the date given above, the subject of it having been born April 13, 1762. The error detected by Mrs. Marcou, as to the identity of the Jeremiah Belknap mentioned in the former communication, is also corrected. — EDS.

over the world, coming to this country in 1848, and taking up his residence in this city, where he is enjoying the evening of his days. Thus his reminiscences go back through his own experience and those of intimates, to the days of Prince Eugene and Charles XII., the 'Hero of the North.' He was well acquainted with Blucher, who was a subaltern in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), in which Schwerin (companion in arms of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and born in 1684) was a field-marshal. Thus from soldiers of high rank (whom he met in Prussia in 1806-7) he heard stories of the wars of the seventeenth century from the lips of conspicuous actors therein. And thus by eye and ear he has seen and heard the development of two centuries. It is wonderful to reflect that this man, moving intimately and daily among us, here present, drinking, eating, and conversing with us, conversed, ate, and drank with men who knew other men who could relate stories of their own adventures when this city was a mere Dutch trading-post, and at a date when the French had as yet only established military posts along the tide-waters of Canada.

"He is somewhat peculiar in his habits, rising at 3 o'clock, A.M., and taking a light breakfast; walking out at daylight, dining at 1, taking tea early and going to bed before 7 in the evening. His mental faculties are as bright as ever. He hears acutely and has good eyesight. His memory, even of *recent* events, is excellent. He takes a deep interest in matters and things around him, and is a pleasant, genial companion. As he rose to leave the table, he said, 'God bless you, gentlemen; I hope to meet you often on these interesting occasions; ten years hence, I hope we will have had ten of these meetings.' He shook hands cordially with each guest, and walked off to his home as spry as any one of the company.

"Captain Lahrbush deserves to be mentioned among the most extraordinary examples of longevity on record. His record is in itself remarkable, apart from his age; and this

extension so far into the second century of life, with his faculties unimpaired, renders him perhaps the most remarkable instance of longevity now in the world." *

The business of the Annual Meeting was now taken up.

Mr. SOLOMON LINCOLN, from the Committee appointed to nominate a list of Officers of the Society, reported the following names; which were adopted by the Society:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BROOKLINE

Vice-Presidents.

HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, LL.D. QUINCY.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

HENRY G. DENNY, A.M. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

REV. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, D.D. BOSTON.

HON. JAMES M. ROBBINS MILTON.

HENRY W. TORREY, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

THEODORE LYMAN, Esq. BOSTON.

REV. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D. BOSTON.

For the Committee.

SOLOMON LINCOLN.

Boston, April 14, 1870.

The Reports of the Standing Committee, the Librarian, the Cabinet-keeper, and the Treasurer were severally submitted and adopted; Mr. MASON, from the Committee on the Treasurer's account, having certified to its correctness.

* The above account had been sent to the President by the venerable Charles Cleveland of this city, who is himself ninety-eight years old.

Report of the Standing Committee, for the year 1869-70.

The Standing Committee would hereby respectfully offer their Report of the transactions of the Society during the year just ended, and the present condition of the Society, in accordance with its By-laws.

The Society has so quietly pursued its way that there is but little to mark its history the past year.

The regular monthly meetings have been held, and these have been well attended, and with increasing interest. In addition to those held at the rooms there have been several social meetings. The first was the regular June meeting, which took place at the residence of the President of the Society, in Brookline, and the October meeting was held at the residence of our Associate Member, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., in Longwood. Both of these were rendered the more interesting from local historical reminiscences. Two social evening meetings have been held. In December last, on the anniversary of the "Landing of the Pilgrims," the Society met, by invitation, at the house of our Associate Member, Robert M. Mason, Esq., where papers of an historical nature were read; and in February was a meeting at the house of the Treasurer, Mr. Frothingham, in Charlestown, on which occasion he read an able paper on the "Declaration of Independence." Your Committee think these meetings have a good influence in keeping up the interest of the members, and trust that arrangements may be made to repeat them.

The duty of examining the Library has been performed as required by the by-laws, and the Committee have the satisfaction of reporting the same in excellent condition, every volume being found in its place. For a more particular account of its increase and its wants, we refer to the report of the Librarian, which will be laid before the meeting.

The whole number of volumes, including the Dowse Library,

is nearly 19,000, and the number of pamphlets exceeds 31,000.

The necessity of more shelf-room still exists; but we trust the time is now near when, by the remodelling of the building, these pressing wants will be supplied.

The Committee have frequently had the subject of the alteration and improvement of the building occupied by the Society under consideration. The lease of the lower story will expire in one year from this time, when it will be desirable to commence immediately upon the improvement. Within the past month your Committee have caused plans to be drawn by an architect, with a view to ascertain the best mode of effecting the object, and also the probable cost. With only rough estimates it is supposed that the building can be enlarged and made in every way convenient, and, so far as possible, made fireproof, for about \$22,000. This sum, we trust, could be raised by subscription, and thus leave the present resources of the Society untouched.

For the present state of the finances the Committee refer to the report of the Treasurer, always clearly and definitely shown, and which will in this case exhibit satisfactory results.

At the last annual meeting our Resident Roll consisted of ninety-eight members. Four members have since been elected, and the list now contains the names of ninety-nine members. Three Resident Members have died during the year. Five Corresponding Members and one Honorary Member have been elected, while six Corresponding Members and one Honorary Member have passed away.

A new volume of Proceedings has been issued during the year, and another is in progress in the form of serial numbers, four of which are now printed, and the transactions brought down to the present meeting. Two volumes of Collections are now in press, one of which is a continuation of the valuable Winthrop Papers, and the other a volume of Aspinwall Papers relating to Virginia. A volume of great historical

interest and value has been printed, being the course of Lectures delivered by the members of the Society at the Lowell Institute during the winter of 1868-69. Several papers of interest have been read at the stated meetings of the Society which have been printed in the Proceedings.

The Cabinet is steadily increasing in interest and value, the details of which will be laid before you in the report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Committee are happy to congratulate the Society upon its continued prosperity and usefulness. At no time has it stood higher or been more useful to the community than now. Its archives, always open to the public under its regulations, are consulted more than ever before, and supply rich material in aid of historical research. While we hold the rank of being the oldest historical society in the country, may we strive to be among the most useful and influential.

For the Committee.

WILLIAM G. BROOKS, *Chairman.*

The Report of the Treasurer.

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1870.

DEBITS.

Frederick H. Hedge, Jr., salary	\$1,172.16
George Arnold	892.71
Insurance	404.65
Incidental expenses	484.76
City of Boston, Tax of 1869	685.00
" " Betterment	40.00
Printing	234.18
Binding	43.64
Coal	89.00
Appleton Fund	732.18
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	269.57
John Wilson & Son, printing Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute	2,003.41
	<u>\$7,061.21</u>

CREDITS.

Balance from old account	\$325.90
Suffolk Savings Institution, rent	2,200.00
" " " taxes	685.00
Amount carried forward	<u>\$3,210.90</u>

Amount brought forward	\$3,210.90
Coupons, Quincy & Palmyra Railroad	80.00
" Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad	80.00
Assessments	578.00
Admissions	40.00
Sales of Society's Publications	1,881.55
Copyright of sales of Life of J. Q. Adams	4.20
Hon. John A. Lowell, for Thirteen Lectures before the Lowell Institute, balance	708.41
John E. Thayer & Brothers, interest	118.63
Sundries	1.50
Balance to new account	353.02
	<u>\$7,061.21</u>

The undersigned who were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending April, 1870, have compared the vouchers with the entries and find them correct, and the balances on the ledger as follows:—

DEBITS.	
Appleton Fund	\$123.20
General account	353.02
Cash	2,120.51
	<u>\$2,606.73</u>
CREDITS.	
Massachusetts Historical Fund	\$1,762.43
The Peabody Fund	844.30
	<u>\$2,606.73</u>

ROBERT M. MASON, }
N. THAYER, } Committee.

Boston, April 12, 1870.

THE APPLETON FUND.

Account ending April, 1870.

DEBITS.	
Balance due the Treasurer	\$866.58
Benj. Bradley & Co., binding, &c.	27.73
John Wilson & Son, printing volume IX. of Collections	171.08
	<u>\$865.38</u>
CREDITS.	
One year's interest of the Fund	\$732.18
Balance due the Treasurer	133.20
	<u>\$865.38</u>

new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society; the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams"; the interest on the Peabody Fund; a bond of \$1,000; and a note of \$1,000.

The books are sold at the Society's rooms. The total sales the past year amounted to \$1,881.55, of which \$1,000.85 were from the sales of the Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute.

In 1868, the Society received a legacy of \$2,000 from the late Henry Harris, Esq., one-half of which was invested in a Coupon Bond of the Quincy & Palmyra Railroad Co. The remainder has been invested in a Coupon Note of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Co. Both securities bear eight per cent interest, and are free of government tax. No conditions were attached to this legacy; and, if thought desirable, it may be constituted into a permanent fund.

The proceeds of the Peabody Fund, the next year, will be ample to meet the publication of the volume of Proceedings in the press, and a volume of Collections may be printed out of the general funds of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Boston, April 12, 1870.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report.

The accessions during the year have been above the average number, and of a valuable character. They may be put under the following heads:—

Books	550
Pamphlets	3041
Bound volumes of newspapers	10
Unbound volumes of newspapers	4
Amount carried forward	3605

Amount brought forward	3605
Separate numbers of newspapers	375
Maps	30
Plans	3
Broadsides	49
Volumes of manuscripts	20
Manuscripts	21
Fac-similes of manuscripts	5
Manuscript maps	2
	<hr/>
	4110

Of the books added, 365 have been given, 78 have been procured by exchange, and 105 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 2720 have been gifts, 313 exchanges, and 8 bought. There have been 64 volumes and 136 pamphlets (duplicates), exchanged. These exchanges have been made, for the most part, with other libraries, and in making them the Librarian has had the sanction of the Standing Committee. By this means books which were wanted for the Library have been obtained, as well as shelf-room, which was equally needed. Of the Society's publications, 17 volumes of Collections, 5 of Proceedings, 4 of Lectures, 2 of the Catalogues, and 3 other volumes have been exchanged. There have been received back into the Library, by exchange or gift, 32 volumes of Collections and 18 numbers, besides 4 volumes of Proceedings. There are now in the Library nearly 19,000 volumes, including the files of newspapers and the manuscripts, and more than 30,000 pamphlets.

During the year there have been taken out 141 books, including 11 pamphlets, and all have been returned. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Library is rather one of reference than of circulation; otherwise the statement of this fact might give a wrong impression of its use.

Mr. Lawrence has continued his gifts, having added, since the last Annual Meeting, 50 volumes and 22 pamphlets, all relating to the Great Rebellion. About one-half of these

were works published at the South during or since the war. The collection in this department is now so full that it is desired to keep it as nearly complete as possible. Every thing is wanted that has even a distant connection with the causes that led to the great and final result. Besides the more formal and pretentious works, the aim is to save funeral sermons, private memoirs, and other publications not widely known or circulated, which relate to persons who took part in the war, whatever section of the country they may have represented in the struggle.

The Librarian refrains from repeating the complaints that have so often been made by his predecessors or himself in regard to the want of shelf-room. Almost every space now available for books is in use, and it will soon be necessary to increase our accommodations. As the Standing Committee have certain changes of the building in contemplation, the Librarian does not enlarge on this subject, which has now become chronic in the annual reports.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

APRIL 14, 1870.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper for the year ending April 14, 1870.

The Cabinet of the Society has received additions during the past year from twenty-five different persons: otherwise, its condition has not materially changed since the last annual report.

Among the gifts worthy of special mention are a well-executed medal in bronze, bearing likenesses of John Gough Nichols, of London, and of Lucy Lewis Nichols, his wife, struck to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of their marriage,—Mr. Nichols being a corresponding member of the Society; the cradle of Gov. Joseph Dudley, from Dudley Hall, of Medford; a colored engraving of the Boston Massacre, by Paul Revere, and a curious pencil-sketch of the old build-

ing till lately standing at the corner of North and Union Streets, Boston, including also some of the market-stalls, made by James Kidder, of Charlestown, about 1818,—both from William H. Keith, of Charlestown; eight Confederate flags, captured at different times and places by the United States naval forces under command of Admiral Farragut, and given to the Society by Capt. Gustavus V. Fox, lately assistant secretary of the navy, at the suggestion of Mr. Whitney; an elaborately-carved war-club, brought from the Sandwich Islands in 1797 by Capt. William Ballard, of Boston, and given to the Society by William Ballard of Brooklyn, N.Y., through John J. May of Boston; a collection of sixty-seven engraved portraits of distinguished Frenchmen, from Mr. Whitmore; a framed photograph, colored in India ink, of the members of the Society present at the meeting at the house of the President in June last, from Mr. Winthrop; a portrait in oil of Benjamin Franklin, from Miss Martha B. Wheaton, of Cambridge; oil-portraits of Gov. Joseph Dudley and Rebecca Tyng Dudley, his wife, from their descendant, Henry A. S. D. Dudley, of Boston, and a box containing gold and silver medals and other valuable testimonials presented to Dr. William T. G. Morton in recognition of his claims to the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of sulphuric ether, from his widow.

There has also been placed in the cabinet the collection of coins, &c., of Mr. Savage, which collection was referred to a committee consisting of the Cabinet-keeper, the Librarian, and Mr. Appleton, to examine and report on. Mr. Appleton, who has made a careful examination on behalf of the Committee, reports that "the collection comprises about two thousand coins, medals, &c., in gold, silver, copper, bronze, tin, and paper. There are also some relics of various kinds. A few pieces of particular interest and value have been arranged in a small tray and placed where they can readily be examined."

In conclusion, the Cabinet-keeper must repeat what has often before been commented on in the reports of his predecessors

in office, and of himself, that the accommodations for the display of the smaller and more valuable articles belonging to the cabinet are quite inadequate, and are such as to repress rather than to encourage the increase of its collection; and he again expresses the hope that some means may be found to do justice to the Society's possessions.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY G. DENNY, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 14, 1870.

Mr. LINCOLN submitted the following, which met with a unanimous response:—

Col. Thomas Aspinwall, senior Vice-President of the Society, having declined being a candidate for re-election to that office,—

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to him for his services as an officer of the Society for many years, and for his valuable contributions to historical learning during a long and honorable life.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Wm. G. Brooks, Esq., and Charles C. Smith, Esq., retiring members of the Standing Committee, for their valuable and efficient services in the discharge of the duties of their office.

Mr. BROOKS, from the Standing Committee, spoke of some plans which Mr. Harris, the architect, had prepared at the Committee's request, in view of the contemplated alteration in the Society's building. The subject was laid over till another meeting.

The President communicated the following letter which had been placed in his hands by our Corresponding Member, J. Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia:—

Geo: Town, March 17th, 1776.

I am convinced, my dear Friend, that 'tis unnecessary to give you a circumstantial account of the occurrences w^h have hitherto prevented my acknowledging your two favors. You know me too well to think

it proceeded from Disregard, and I assure you it is not the effect of my Indolence. I wrote some time since to T. Coxe, & have had the happiness of two letters from him.

We are in daily Expectation of hearing some material News from Georgia. Their apprehensions from several of his Majesty's ships which lay in Savannah River with two Transports, containing, 'tis suppos'd, about five hundred Men, were great & not without foundation. Several Merchantmen had receiv'd a quantity of Rice & Indigo on board & proposed to sail (contrary to Resolutions) under the Protection of these Vessels of War, when five hundred Carolineans were ordered to march to Georgia & unrig them, but the Business was dispatch'd before their arrival by some Georgians from the Country. Soon after, many of the regulars boarded the dismasted shipping unseen, & when Cap^t — was sent to bring the rigging on shore & did not return, the People began to be apprehensive of some trick, & were confirmed in their suspicions by the report of two sailors who came on shore. Some unarmed men then were rowed to the Vessels to demand the Prisoners, & they were also detained; the Georgians then threaten'd to fire on them from a Battery hastily raised with two four Pounders, in case they refus'd to liberate the Prisoners, & insulting Language from the ships was the Consequence. The Fire then began, & the regulars declared by Writing that they w^d treat with any two men in whom the People most confided, & no others. Such men accordingly went, accompanied with 12 Rifle-men in an open Boat, & were fired on as soon as they arriv'd close under the stern of Cap^t Inglis's Vessel, but fortunately escaped with little or no damage. A Brisk Firing then began, & a Vessel on Fire set adrift among them, which in a great measure answer'd the Intent; many of the distrest soldiery were oblig'd to crawl in the Marsh w^h afforded but little defence from the expert Rifle-men. The spectacle by all accounts was a pleasing, horrid spectacle.

The Insurrection & Defeat of the Scots in N. Carolina, you have no doubt been already particularly inform'd of.

The Inhabitants of Ch^r Town are making all Preparations to receive the Enemy, & seem to wish a trial of their mettle; they have been extremely active in incurring immense Expences by military preparations. "Common Sense" hath made independants of the majority of the Country, & Gadsden is as mad with it, as ever he was without it.

W^m H. Drayton, has been judge, Counsellor, General & Com-

mander of a Ship of War, in the space of a twelve Month. What may we not do, when led on by men of such universal Genius? To be serious, I wish We may not be disappointed in our sanguine Expectations, but I can't help fearing that we undertake matters, which our abilities are incapable of carrying thro'. However, be the consequence what it will I am determin'd to exert myself in defence of my Country & of course in support of the measures adopted, & am only sorry that the Power of an obscure Individual can be of little service. I have been a Month on actual service, & have only been promoted to Feugal-man (I believe I spell wrong) of a Company.

I was not much surpris'd tho' much anger'd at the ridiculous marriage of that little simpleton K. L. * * * * *

* * * As for N. H.'s refusal of thirty thousand pounds & being an honourable Mans Convenience, I look upon it as one of the unaccountable accidents which are constantly turning up in this strange world.

I heartily condole with T. Hanson; the Bargain consider'd in any point of view [*torn*] w^d have suited him well; tell the Major I will assure him success if he will continue his attacks, only let him vary the mode.

I hope Miss N. Bond is well. P. Smith is soon to be married to a Daughter of Henry Middleton. As for Harleston I sometimes see him, but have never convers'd with him; his Father's Death has thrown him into an immense Fortune. My best respects to your sisters & my Compliments to my acquaintances in general. I am sorry Franks is gone to Ticonderoga on my own acc^t, glad on my country's. My Gratitude to him & family is inexpressible & I entertain the best sentiments of that dear Girl his sister. You need not let her know this, for probably it [may] lay the foundation for what she is yet a stranger to, Pride. I shall make no apology for this scrawl, but had like to have forgot to mention that I am on a visit to George-town where I soon expect to settle. Poor Biddle is dead; his imprudence got the better of his Constitution. A Gentleman waits Dinner for me, I am therefore oblig'd to hurry more than I wish, to let you know that with impatience I expect a letter from you to

W^r ALEX^r HYRNE.

(Addressed to)

M^r W^r TILGHMAN,
Philad^a

The following communication from Mr. Fisher, subsequently received by the President, furnishes some interesting annotations on the Hyrne letter:—

PHILADELPHIA, March 10th, 1870.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP.—I have been a little doubtful whether I was right in giving the letter of Mr. Hyrne for publication. Its reference to some of the early incidents of the war of the Revolution, and to a remarkable act of hostility on the part of the Carolinians and Georgians before the Declaration of Independence, which I have not seen elsewhere, led me to think it deserved preservation, as evidence of the spirit prevailing in the region where it was written. I have not at hand the local histories which would perhaps throw more light upon the subject.

The letter was found among the papers of the late Chief-Justice Tilghman, and, as well as I can ascertain, is the only one extant of his correspondence with Mr. Hyrne. It should be kept in mind that both were very young; Mr. Tilghman only in his twentieth year, Hyrne probably a little older, as he was a graduate at our Philadelphia College, of the Class of 1773. The name of Hyrne is not, I think, now to be found in South Carolina, though it is remembered as one of a family in the Georgetown district. There are also in our College Catalogue the names of several Carolinians of that period, among them that of John J. Pringle, afterwards a student at the Temple, and a distinguished lawyer in Charleston.

There were a great many from Maryland, of which province William Tilghman was a native, and perhaps also Mr. Hyrne. He must have been very familiar with the best society of Philadelphia, and indeed his letter indicates that we had at that time much more social intercourse with the South than with the people east of the Hudson. I may add that I do not recollect the name of a single New Englander settling in Pennsylvania before the revolution except Dr. Franklin.

Among the names mentioned in Mr. Hyrne's letter I may notice that of Captain Inglis, commander of one of the British ships of war lying off Savannah. He was a native of Philadelphia, a great uncle of my wife's on her mother's side. He entered the Royal Navy when a boy, and rose to the rank of Admiral, dying in Scotland where his descendants reside.

"Franks" was, I think, a native of New York, afterwards Major Franks of the American army, and aide-de-camp of Arnold at West Point. His curious testimony to Mrs. Arnold's innocence of all complicity in her husband's treason may be found in the privately printed preface to the Shippen Papers. His sister, to whom Hyrne makes such a complimentary allusion, was without doubt Becky T., the witty friend and correspondent of General Charles Lee (see his Memoirs). She afterwards married a General Johnston of the British army.

Their father, David Franks, was a wealthy Jew of high social position. He married, I think, a Delancey, and although his oldest son was brought up, according to marriage stipulation, in the Hebrew faith, his daughters made distinguished matches in Christian families.

Miss N(ancy) Bond became the second wife of General John Cadwalader of the army of the Revolution.

P. Smith was Peter Smith of South Carolina, his wife a daughter of Henry Middleton, holding for some months the presidency of Congress after the death of Peyton Randolph in 1776; succeeded in his chair by John Hancock, and in his place as delegate by his son Arthur Middleton.

William Henry Drayton filled all sorts of public places in South Carolina, and was a good deal satirized in the Tory lampoons of the day. See the privately printed poems of the Rev. Dr. Odell. His memoirs were afterwards printed in two volumes octavo. He was not of Drayton Hall (as I have recently seen stated), nor the ancestor of Colonel William Drayton, distinguished in the army of 1812, and afterwards in Congress, perhaps the last Federalist there.

Gadsden was of course Christopher Gadsden, afterwards in Congress, and governor of South Carolina.

I commit the letter and my annotations to your care to present to our Society, and use them as you please.

Believe me, with very sincere regards,

Most respectfully yours,

J. FRANCIS FISHER.

Dr. PEABODY announced the Memoir of the late Alvan Lamson, D.D., as ready for publication; and Prof. PARSONS, through Mr. Deane, the Memoir of the late Charles G. Loring, LL.D.

MEMOIR

OF

ALVAN LAMSON, D.D.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

ALVAN LAMSON, the son of John and Hannah (Ayres) Lamson, was born in Weston, Mass., Nov. 18, 1792. He was fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1814. He held a high rank in his class, and was even at that early age distinguished for maturity of mind and character. Of the esteem in which he was held it may be ample proof that he was chosen, on graduating, to the office of tutor in Bowdoin College, then in its infancy, and, while waiting for permanent endowments, seeking to sustain itself in being by the infusion from year to year of the best young life which Harvard could furnish for its nourishment. He afterward studied theology at the Cambridge Divinity School, being a member of its first regularly organized class. He was licensed to preach in 1817, and on Oct. 29, 1818, was ordained as pastor of the First Church in Dedham. In 1825 he was married to Frances Fidelia Ward, daughter of the Hon. Artemas Ward. In 1837 he received the degree of S.T.D. from Harvard University. For nearly forty years he continued at his post, in the quiet, diligent, and faithful discharge of his office, and with uninterrupted health. Then came a season of prolonged illness and disablement, the causes of which eluded medical skill, but from which he was partially restored by rest and European travel. On returning to his work, he found himself no longer adequate to the



Alvan Lamson



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severe demands often made upon the minister of a large parish, and a chronic bronchitis rendered the use of his voice in preaching at times difficult and painful. On these grounds, against the wishes, though with the consent of his parish, he resigned his charge in October, 1860. He continued to live among his people, in the kindest intercourse with them, and in the enjoyment of their undivided reverence and affection. With a mind undimmed and active, a serene and sunny temperament, a cheerful home, and an entire freedom from care and anxiety, he gave promise of a lengthened and 'happy old age. But he was probably more feeble than he seemed. There was, however, not the slightest failure as to mental vigor, or as to the capacity of enjoyment and of ministering to the happiness of others, and only the very gentlest decline of bodily strength, till within a few days of his death. He died, after a brief illness, painlessly and calmly, on the 18th of July, 1864.

Dr. Lamson was pre-eminently a scholar. Well read in the classics, and versed in the methods and results of biblical criticism, he devoted himself chiefly to the study of the Christian Fathers and Christian Archæology. In these departments of learning he was conversant with original authorities, and was himself an always safe authority to those who could not or would with him seek the fountains. At the same time he was a man of general culture, familiar with the best literature of his own tongue and day.

He was indefatigably industrious. Faithful in the discharge of his professional duty, he wasted no time in its conventional routine; but gave to his books all the time he could command, and regarded himself as most truly serving his people by rendering himself more fit to serve them.

His style was marked by precision, simplicity, and purity. It was never diffuse or feeble, and at times it was characterized by rare terseness and energy, especially in controversy. Not that he loved or sought controversy. He was one of the most

peaceful of men. But when circumstances or a paramount sense of duty forced him into the lists, he used his pen as one who meant to lay it down speedily, yet not till it had done full execution.

As a preacher, he was not popular in the lower sense of the word; but he sustained throughout his ministry a reputation among the foremost of his coevals for sound and vigorous thought, elegant diction, profound seriousness of aim and purpose, and the capacity equally of instruction and edification. He was always listened to with interest, and his sermons were most prized by the wisest and best men. It would be difficult to imagine that he should ever have written a feeble, slovenly, or unprofitable sermon. His parish contained many persons of superior position, intelligence, and culture, and he was never held by them in higher estimation than when he was compelled to resign his charge.

In private life he was genial, amiable, kind, hospitable. He can have had no enemy; and, though retiring in his habits, he had many loving and warmly devoted friends. His manners had a little of the formality of the old school of gentlemen, but at the same time the winning grace, the heart-felt courtesy, and the careful consideration for others, that belonged to the highest type of that school. In purity and integrity, in assiduous diligence, in meekness and charity, in a life of unostentatious sanctity, he adorned the religion he preached, and has left a memory which will be tenderly cherished, not alone by his few surviving coevals, but by none more than by those who first knew him when with the ripeness of venerable years he blended the modest simplicity of ingenuous youth.

Dr. Lamson's principal publications were a volume of Sermons, Boston, 1857; and a work entitled "The Church of the First Three Centuries; or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its late Origin and gradual Formation," Boston, 1860.

This last is a work of very profound research; and, though the author's conclusions are open to grave doubt and serious discussion, the affluence of his learning, and his candor in the presentation of authorities adverse no less than favorable to his own opinions, will be admitted by none more readily than by his intelligent antagonists.

Besides these volumes, Dr. Lamson published very numerous occasional sermons, and was for many years a frequent contributor to the "Christian Examiner."

LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF DR. LAMSON.

Sermons. 12mo. pp. 424. 1857.

The Church of the First Three Centuries: or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with special reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity: illustrating its late Origin and gradual Formation. 8vo. pp. 352. 1860.

Second Edition of the same, revised and enlarged; edited by Ezra Abbot. 8vo. pp. 410. 1865.

Pamphlets.

Sermon on the Adaptation of Christianity. 1825.

Remarks on the Genius and Writings of Soame Jenyns, and on the Internal Evidences of Christianity. 1826.

Sermon preached at the Ordination of Rev. Charles C. Sewall, at Danvers. 1827.

Discourse at the Dedication of Bethlehem Chapel, Augusta, Maine, 1827.

Discourse on the Validity of Congregational Ordination, (Dudleian Lecture, 1834).

Sermon on the Sin against the Holy Ghost. 1835.

A History of the First Church and Parish in Dedham, in three Discourses, delivered Nov. 29, and Dec. 2, 1838; published in 1839.

A Discourse delivered on the day of the National Fast on occasion of the Death of President Harrison, 1841.

Congregationalism. A Discourse delivered before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, 1846.

The Memory of John Robinson. A Discourse delivered at Dedham, Sunday, Dec. 21, 1851.

Impressions of Men and Things Abroad. A Sermon preached at Dedham, Sept. 11, 1853, after an absence of some months in Europe.

Agricultural Life in some of its Intellectual Aspects. An Address delivered before the Norfolk Agricultural Society, Sept. 30, 1857.

A Sermon preached Oct. 31, 1858, the Sunday after the Fortieth Anniversary of his Ordination.

A Discourse preached Oct. 28, 1860, on Resigning the Pastoral Charge of the First Church and Parish in Dedham, after a Ministry of Forty-two Years.

Funeral Sermons.

On Ebenezer Fisher, Jr., 1847.

„ Mrs. Mary Dean, 1851.

„ Rev. John White, 1852.

„ John Endicott, 1857.

„ Hon. James Richardson, 1858.

Tracts (Unitarian).

On the Doctrine of Two Natures in Jesus Christ. 1st Series, No. 20. (Reprinted in England.)

On the Foundation of our Confidence in the Saviour. 1st Series, No. 89. (Reprint of Sermon at Ordination of C. C. Sewall.)

On Earnestness in Religion. 1st Series, No. 188.

What is Unitarianism? 1st Series, No. 202. (Reprint, after revision, of the article on "Unitarian Congregationalists," in Rupp's "History of all the Religious Denominations in the United States.")

In 1830 and 1831, Dr. Lamson, with Rev. S. Barrett, edited the "Unitarian Advocate," Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, New Series.

In 1835, with Rev. Géo. Ripley, he edited the "Boston Observer."

From January, 1844, to May, 1849, with Rev. Dr. Gannett, he edited the "Christian Examiner."

MEMOIR
OF
CHARLES GREELY LORING.

BY THEOPHILUS PARSONS.

MR. LORING was born in Boston, on the second of May, 1794. His father, the Hon. Caleb Loring, was an eminent merchant. His mother, Anne Greely, was a daughter of Captain John Greely, who was killed while defending his ship, a letter-of-marque, against an English frigate, near Marblehead, in the War of Independence. It may be mentioned as an interesting incident, that the commander of the frigate sent his body and his sword to his family, with a letter expressing admiration of his gallantry and courage. Mr. Loring's paternal ancestors were among the earliest settlers at Plymouth, whence they soon removed to Hull, and thence to Boston.

He was during his whole life a citizen of Boston. After attending some private schools, he went to the public Latin School, left it as a medal scholar, entered Harvard College as a Sophomore in 1809, and was graduated in 1812. His high position in his class was shown by his having assigned to him, at graduation, the Latin salutatory oration.

He went at once to Litchfield; and there, in the Law School in that town, prosecuted his legal studies. His room-mate was Peleg Sprague, who had been his classmate in college. Between Mr. Loring and this excellent and eminent man an affectionate friendship grew up, which never knew an interruption.

Mr. Loring completed his professional studies in the office of the Hon. Samuel Hubbard, who was afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of this State. At that time three years of study were required in this State for admission as an attorney, who was not permitted to argue cases; after two years more the student became a counsellor of the court of Common Pleas, in which he could then act as advocate; and in two years more he became a counsellor of the Supreme Court. Mr. Hubbard was compelled to abandon his business for a time by the illness of his wife, while Mr. Loring was in his office; and, although only a student, he was selected by Mr. Hubbard and deputed to take charge of his business; and at his request, and with the consent of his clients, Mr. Loring argued several of Mr. Hubbard's cases before the Supreme Court.

He was admitted as an attorney in 1815, as counsellor below in 1817, and as full counsellor in 1819. In 1816 he formed a partnership with his classmate, Franklin Dexter, which continued until 1819, when Mr. Dexter was associated with the Hon. William Prescott, to whose daughter he was affianced.

Mr. Loring would sometimes speak of his early professional career, as if his progress had been slow. But I was admitted to the bar in 1819, four years after him; my office was near his, and I used to think that his office was full of business. Indeed it still seems to me that Mr. Loring came almost at once into a large business of the best kind. I have known no instance of a young man acquiring so soon and holding so firmly a wide clientage of the most valuable character. There were many causes for this, some of which lay outside of himself. His substitution for Mr. Hubbard was useful; and his family friendships gave him assistance. The coming into his hands, at an early stage of his career, of interesting cases in which he met with success, was very helpful. But none of these things can do more than help a young man. Often in the biographies of eminent lawyers we read of this or that "accident," as it seems and is called, which lifted them into

notice and began a long course of prosperity. But such accidents lie in wait for most men who are ready to profit by them. Life is full of these favorable circumstances; but it is not full of instances in which they are turned to the best account. If they are not, they pass out of notice and are forgotten. But, if they are used as they may be used, to lead not merely to an immediate result, but to a success which is not a fruit plucked for to-day but a seed sown to grow and bear its own fruits in long succession, then they are remembered by the man himself and by others, and are referred to as the cause of a prosperity of which they were only the occasion and the means. I do but present the same thought in other words, when I say that the most favorable circumstances can do no more for a young man than give him an opportunity of showing himself as he is. In fact they compel him to show himself as he is; for, if he fails to improve the opportunity, this failure shows him to be wanting in some of the elements of character which are needed to insure success.

How was it with Mr. Loring? He brought to the bar good sense; that kind and measure of learning which is the necessary result of patient, earnest, and intelligent study under good instruction; the capacity and the habit of industry, or rather of sustained, persistent energy; a strong and constant sense of fidelity to all duty; and unfailing courage. It was well for him that propitious circumstances came to him soon after his entrance into the profession. But if they had not come to him, he would have found them, or made them. To a man so well fitted for usefulness in his profession, the question of success was only a question of time and manner; at some time and in some way it was sure to come.

Mr. Loring was a clear and cogent reasoner. I do not say that he possessed remarkable logical power. But he saw with distinctness the reasons which had led him to a conclusion, and was able to present them to others with equal distinctness.

He was not eloquent, and never sought to be. No one knew better how very small a part of the common civil cases tried in court are in any degree dependent upon what is commonly called eloquence; by which I mean a successful appeal to the passions or emotions. There is, indeed, a true forensic eloquence, by which I now mean a distinct and vivid presentation to the mind of the tribunal of all the facts and principles of a case, so stated that they cannot but be clearly seen, and so arranged as to support each other and lead by an unbroken progress to the desired conclusion. In this eloquence he certainly was not deficient.

His arguments were unusually long. He spoke from a well-prepared brief, and was careful to omit nothing which seemed to him to belong to the case. But he held the attention of the court or jury to the end. I think this was caused mainly by his own earnestness. He was zealous for the interests of his clients, and never concealed his zeal. He always thought he ought to succeed, and it was evident that he labored so strenuously because he thought so. It was impossible that this firm conviction should not exert a strong influence upon a jury, and often awake in them a conviction in sympathy with his own.

It always seemed to me that, if he had been disposed to cultivate the eloquence of the passions, he could have done so with much success. Touches of it were not unknown to those who were in the habit of conversing with him on topics in which he took a deep interest. His strong convictions, his warmth of feeling, his readiness and clearness of expression,—all would have helped him. I may be wrong in this, and certainly am, if he was right in one of his own most decided opinions; for this was, that he had no power of eloquence whatever. I could not quite agree in this, if only from having witnessed one striking instance to the contrary. Very many years ago, I was with him in an action against an insurance company. The plaintiff, an Italian, had insured against fire,

for \$10,000, a large collection of very beautiful works of art. These were stored in the dwelling-house in which he lived with his wife and family. A fire broke out, and the articles were nearly destroyed; and the wife and children of the plaintiff were saved with difficulty. One of the points taken in defence was a suggestion, resting on no evidence, that he set fire to the house to get the insurance money. Mr. Loring, as senior counsel, closed the argument for the plaintiff; and the way in which he dealt with that suggestion, as charging upon the plaintiff, with an utter wantonness of accusation, the great crime of exposing his wife and children to imminent danger of a fearful death, merely to recover by this fraud a sum which was not shown to be larger than a sale of the goods would have brought him, convinced me that he had or might have acquired the faculty of passionate and powerful eloquence. I remember that the jury returned their verdict almost at once, and gave the plaintiff the utmost he could claim under the policy of insurance.

I must not omit to notice one part of his practice, which is large with all eminent lawyers, and was very large with him; that of giving opinions on cases presented to him. For this he was eminently qualified. Learning, a thorough understanding of the principles of law, industry, patience, and caution, all combined to give value to his opinions, and confidence in them to his clients and the community.

At that time the division of labor among lawyers was not, perhaps, so great as it is now, and it is not now well defined. Mr. Loring's cases and business were of all kinds, and in all he was successful. But there were two important branches in which he certainly had no superior, if indeed, for many years, he had a rival. These were the law of marine insurance, and the law of real property.

From 1825 to 1855, he was in full practice in the courts of Massachusetts, and in the United States Courts for this circuit. The published reports of decisions will show that, taking this

whole period of thirty years together, no other man had so large a number of cases in court; and of the cases of no other was the proportion so large of those which, by the novelty of the questions they raise, or of the peculiar circumstances to which they require the application of acknowledged principles, may be considered as establishing new law, or giving new scope and meaning to recognized law.

It must not be forgotten that, through nearly the whole of his most laborious and most successful career, he was impeded by ill health, or would have been impeded but for his resolute, determined energy. What was enough to have doomed a weak man to inactivity, and to have greatly marred the work of a man of common strength of character, seemed not to obstruct or even diminish his usefulness or success. For many years he was subject to attacks of dyspepsia, and of rheumatism or neuralgia, which, not unfrequently, increased in violence until they incapacitated him for a time for all labor. Always, however, when they remitted, he would seem to have with returning health the power of labor so intense as to make up for all the time he had lost. So early as while he was a student in Litchfield, he suffered much from weakness and pain in his eyes. At a later period his ailments seemed to settle upon those organs. He was driven for a short period into utter darkness, but even then did something through the eyes of another. From 1832 to 1840, while in full professional business, he was obliged to employ persons to read to him and write for him. His sight became good, or good enough for much more use in later than in his earlier years. But his eyes never recovered their full strength, and he was often obliged to seek the aid of an amanuensis.

His capacity for labor was great, and his energy seemed to be inexhaustible. But there were times when all gave way under the heavy load that pressed upon him. For example: about the year 1828, a commercial crisis brought many merchants and traders to bankruptcy. We had then no bankrupt

law, and all insolvency was worked out through voluntary assignments. These were confidential, and must be made almost always at night to avoid the interference of attachments until they were completed; often without previous notice and after a hard day's work; and they were long and complicated instruments, as they were necessarily adapted to the peculiar exigencies of each case, and must be made with great and minute care. Mr. Loring had a large proportion of all this business. One evening he came home to draft these instruments for three different firms. He opened the doors between his parlors, placed clerks at each of three tables as distant from each other as the rooms permitted, and, walking from one to the other, dictated in turn to each of them; and in the morning all the instruments for the three firms, each in three parts, were finished. Such nights as these were followed by laborious days. But under this pressure he broke down. Still he continued until, as he said, on going home from his office one evening, he could not find his way, but was obliged to ask from those he met a direction to his own house. Then he gave up and rested from all business for a time; but even then only long enough to enable him to resume it with justice and safety to his clients.

He was in the habit of taking very full notes at the trial of his cases, and of writing out his arguments—generally by dictation—almost at length. It seemed, however, as if this exercise fastened what he would say upon his memory; and in speaking he made little use of his notes, reading from them only what witnesses had said.

Before he reached the age of sixty, in 1854, he had abandoned much of his lesser business, declining a large part of what was pressed upon him, but was still exceedingly occupied with the important work which poured into his hands, and abated no jot of his energy or faithfulness in what he did. But in that year he was offered the position of Actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. This office he

accepted and held until his death. It was thought, I believe, a wise selection on the part of that corporation. It was well for them and well for him that he accepted the place. If it did no more for him, it gave him the relief of a change of occupation. It substituted employment of a regular kind, seldom oppressing him by its accumulation, for the professional work, which must sometimes require a long-continued and exhausting tension of thought and effort

He did not, and perhaps he could not, leave at once all his business behind him. Some old cases he must still argue; a part of them before the Supreme Court in Washington. Clients who were also friends, and he had many such, brought their difficulties to him. He did not try new cases in court, and avoided what he could of the labor of giving opinions or advice, but nevertheless was much occupied in this way; and this practice he continued to some extent, almost on the compulsion of those who sought his aid, nearly to the close of his life. And disputed cases were often settled by his decision as the arbiter chosen by both parties.

Of the manner in which he discharged the multifarious and important duties of his new office, I cannot speak from personal knowledge; for that was confined to a few simple cases in which I had occasion to meet him. But the high expectations, founded upon his past life and character, were not disappointed. His knowledge of law and his familiarity both with the principles and practice of trusts were eminently useful. A thorough gentleman, if ever there was one, he was none the less a thorough man of business. No thought of suspecting his integrity ever entered into any man's mind. In all questions between the corporation intrusted to his management, and those who had claims upon it, his fairness was never doubted, while his protection of the trusts in his hands was perfect. In manner he was courteous, and equally so to all; but his gentleness was not to be imposed upon, for it was guarded by a sharp-sighted sagacity and strengthened by a

firmness which was only firmness and not obstinacy. The general belief that he was the right man for that place, which existed when he took it, was constantly confirmed during all the years that he held the office.

I would not omit to state, as an incident in his life, that in 1823 and 1824 he was the commander of the New-England Guards. He discharged the duties of this military office with the zeal and efficiency which characterized his performance of the duties of his profession. He was proud of his company, of their full ranks, and their excellent drill as light infantry, infantry of the line and artillery; for they were trained in all these forms of military discipline.

In politics he was deeply interested, and was never absent from the polls when it was possible to attend them. Without ever being what might be called a thorough-going partisan, he had decided convictions upon party questions, which, in their essence, did not vary through the changes of the party names from Federalist to Whig or Republican. Although often solicited, he never accepted public office, until, in 1862, he became for one year a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, holding therein the office of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and of the Committee on Mercantile Affairs.

In 1849 he was invited by Governor Briggs to take the place in the Senate of the United States vacated by Mr. Webster's resignation; and in 1853 he was invited by Governor Washburn to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Everett's resignation. Both of these invitations he declined, after much consideration and consultation with friends, some of whom advised him otherwise. Among his reasons for these refusals was the smallness of his fortune, and the necessity thereby imposed of continuing his professional labors. With all his opportunities to accumulate property, never here surpassed in his profession, the moderation of his charges, the liberality of his expenditure, and the greater liberality, or I might say lavishness, of his gifts, prevented his acquiring wealth. According to his way

of considering such things, his acceptance of the office of Senator of the United States would have involved as a duty his leaving his profession. He said to his friends that he had not studied the science of politics, nor accustomed himself to a sustained investigation of its principles, or of the questions which arise when those principles are applied to practice. And he thought himself too old to begin a new career.

Let me now gather up some other incidents in his course. In 1832, when the cholera, after raging through Europe, was expected in this country, Mr. Loring was active in forming a large relief association to visit and care for the sick and dying. At that time, the fear of this pestilence, which was thought to be contagious, amounted to panic. He accepted the office of chairman of a committee charged with the duty of attendance upon the sick; and personally visited the earliest cases, and spared no efforts and no exposure which could bring order and efficiency into the arrangements for the sick, or mitigate their sufferings.

In 1834 occurred that most violent and most disgraceful riot in which was destroyed the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown. Great efforts were made to discover the ringleaders, and bring them to their deserved punishment. At a large meeting in Faneuil Hall, Mr. Loring was appointed chairman of a numerous committee charged with the investigation of this crime. The committee had many sessions, and in the discharge of this duty he labored assiduously for many weeks. At the close he made a full report, stating the processes and the results of the examination, and the evidence thus obtained was of great service in the subsequent legal proceedings.

He was always and thoroughly an earnest lover of freedom, and therefore was opposed to slavery; and an extensive tour through the Southern States had strengthened his belief in the essential wickedness of slavery as it existed there, as well as its enormous mischief. He did not, however, join the Anti-slavery party, because, while he sympathized with them in the

ends they sought, he was unable to approve of the means and measures by which they sought to reach that end; but this sympathy he never hesitated to express or to manifest in such ways as he could. In 1851, when the trial of Sims, an escaped slave, took place before the United States Commissioner, he appeared as his counsel and made the closing argument.

In 1835 he was appointed a Fellow of Harvard College, and retained that office until 1857; and during all this period he was a most active, interested, and useful member of the Corporation. When in 1850 a controversy arose between the Corporation and the Overseers as to their respective rights and duties, Mr. Loring made a long report on the subject, afterwards published in a pamphlet form, in which he gave an exhaustive review of all the historical facts and legal principles bearing on the questions considered, and presented an able and conclusive argument in support of the views held by the Corporation. He was especially active and instrumental in terminating the former connection of the Divinity School with the College and placing it in its present relations. He was much interested in establishing the Society of the Alumni, which he believed would strengthen the interest of the graduates in their Alma Mater.

In connection with Mr. Loring's relations with Harvard College, it should be mentioned that in 1865 he was chosen to preside at the ovation given by the College to her sons on their return from the war. No appointment could have been more acceptable, and no person could have better discharged its peculiar and difficult duties, in the various preparatory arrangements and on the day of the ovation.

He was also chairman of the committee of fifty, in whose hands was placed the charge of gathering funds for, and the construction of, the edifice which Harvard College is now about to build, as an enduring memorial of all of her children who offered, and of the many of them who gave, their lives to their country.

In 1853 he went with Mrs. Loring to Europe, and travelled over many parts of that continent. But his longest visit was to England, where he passed some months. I am sure he was very happy there, and I believe he was very useful. His letters of introduction and his reputation secured to him access to the highest ranks of English society. In the Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson, recently published, under the date of June 24, 1853, he speaks of meeting Mr. and Mrs. Loring at Dr. Boott's house, in London. He says, "The star was Loring," then gives the substance of a long conversation with him on American politics, and adds, "I have seen no one who judges seemingly with so much candor as Loring."

At that time there was a strong disposition among many of the leading men in England to understand us better; and not in casual conversation only did he give them information, but they sometimes sought it directly. A gentleman of much distinction asked him to meet at his house a number of men who were eminent in name or station, and who wished to comprehend better than they had been able to—what must be an enigma to European statesmen, and is not I fear so well understood by ourselves as it should be—the true place of the judiciary among our institutions.

How is it, said they, that when a law is enacted by Congress and approved by the President, with the written constitution before them, there comes another body, which, possessing no legislative power, may annul this law by their simple declaration that it is, in their judgment, "unconstitutional"? There was a free and full and long conversation on this subject. Mr. Loring did his best to explain it, and no one could do better. He told me that he considered himself as, on the whole, unsuccessful. Indeed, one of the most eminent among them said to him in parting, and while expressing his thanks for the information they had received, that he still found it a very obscure matter, and doubted whether he fully comprehended either its principle or its working.

When the War of Secession broke out, he entered upon the questions and the duties which it presented with all the vigor and enthusiasm of his character. His second son entered the army, went through the war, and came out with high military rank. His only grandson old enough to bear arms served with honor. He was himself too old to fight otherwise than with the pen. But that weapon he used ably and usefully. Besides many addresses at public meetings, which were reported and published, he wrote often and earnestly upon the topics suggested by the events of the day, sending his articles to newspapers; and most of these were afterwards published in pamphlet form.

The first of them which I will notice bears the title of "A Reading upon the Personal Liberty Laws of Massachusetts." It consisted of two long articles published in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," Dec. 31, 1860, and Jan. 3, 1861. It relates to the statutes of Massachusetts, "enacted," says Mr. Loring, "as is universally known, under the influence of the strong indignation pervading this and other States in reference to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and of recent outrages in Southern States upon citizens of the Free States; and evidently indicative of that emotion, rather than of legislative equanimity." These laws had been severely attacked and their constitutionality denied, especially in "An Appeal to the Citizens of Massachusetts." The decisions and the arguments bearing upon the question were fully considered by Mr. Loring, and he reached the conclusion that these laws, if fairly and rationally construed, were strictly and certainly within the constitutional powers of the legislature of Massachusetts.

In 1862 appeared the largest, and, under some points of view, the most interesting of these pamphlets. It was called, "Correspondence on the Present Relations between Great Britain and the United States of America." It consisted of letters which passed between Mr. Loring and Mr. Edwin W. Field, an eminent solicitor of London and very able man, with

whom Mr. Loring had become acquainted while in England. Mr. Field was one of those Englishmen, who, while they were cordial friends of this country, and hated slavery (he calls the theory put forth in its defence "devilish doctrine"), nevertheless thought that England was justified in the course she had pursued in "the Trent affair," and, generally, in her treatment of us; and that we were mistaken in our resistance to Secession, and that our wiser course would be to let the Slave States go off if they would, leaving the Free States all the better for having got rid of them. I indulge myself with quoting one brief passage from Mr. Field's first letter. It was written at his country seat on Hampstead Hill; and, besides the pleasant picture it presents, exhibits in few words the main purpose of all his letters:

"As long as you treat us like gentlemen (I think Seward's waiting to see what we did, when he thought all the while we were right, was more like a lawyer than a gentleman), I don't believe the Emperor of the French himself, with all the cotton-lords (and they will be few) he can enlist, will persuade us towards moving to break the blockade, even though it be ever so paperish a one. So far for politics: now to 'pastures new.' . . . Last summer we had a lone house for our sketching quarters on the Thames, twenty miles below Oxford: a ferry was attached to it, which one man was obliged to work day and night too, if the passengers could wake him. I spent many and many a pleasant hour, when saturated with sketching, in sailing my New York centre-board little boat, the 'Yankee;' the star-spangled banner, of course, in full fly at the peak. The Great Western Railway crossed the Thames near us; and, quiet as was the land and water, the trains in mid air brought thousands of eyes to admire the boat and the beautiful flag. What will be the issue of its stars from your troubles? I have said I will no more politics, or I must have added a word or two why we think our old saying, 'Good shut of bad rubbish,' should be the doctrine of your policy, as the best way of getting rid of the plague of slave recognition and its devotees."

As the correspondence went on from Jan. 16 to Nov. 13, 1862, the whole subject, under all its aspects, was thoroughly ventilated. Both writers were gentlemen, and cordial friends.

Both wrote in perfect freedom, but not a word is there savoring of unkindness or discourtesy in the whole correspondence. I thought then and I think now that the whole argument was exhausted. I have seen nothing since on Mr. Field's side which was not said or suggested by him; and the replies of Mr. Loring were direct, cogent, and, as it seems to me, conclusive. This pamphlet attracted much attention both in England and in this country, and must have exerted a considerable and most useful influence.

I must not permit myself to notice these pamphlets in much detail. In 1863 were published, under the title of "Neutral Relations of England and the United States," a series of articles which had appeared in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," from Aug. 20 to Sept. 25, 1863. They examined thoroughly, and from a lawyer's point of view, the conduct of England in relation to the "Alabama" and the "Florida," and her other breaches of neutrality; and in 1864 were gathered in a pamphlet bearing the title of "England's Liability for Indemnity; Remarks on the Letter of Historicus, dated Nov. 4, 1863, printed in the 'London Times,' Nov. 7, and repeated in the 'Boston Daily Advertiser,' Nov. 25th." This pamphlet passed through two editions, and neither this, nor that on "Neutral Relations" must be forgotten or neglected by those who have to maintain in any way our own doctrine, that the claims of this country against England are something more than what Historicus saw fit to call them, when, in a letter, which at that time found much acceptance in England, he permitted himself to say: "This 'tall talk' of claims against Great Britain for prizes taken by the 'Alabama' is mere nonsense, which has no color or foundation either in reason, history, or law."

In 1866 he published his last work. It was a pamphlet of one hundred and twenty-six pages, bearing the title of "Reconstruction. Claims of the Inhabitants of the States Engaged in the Rebellion to Restoration of Political Rights and Privi-

leges under the Constitution." I could not condense within narrow limits the close reasoning of this pamphlet, even if this were the place to attempt it; and must content myself with quoting the concluding paragraphs. They will serve as a specimen of his style; but I quote them rather because they express strongly an opinion, a principle, and a feeling, of which, through all the excitements and discussions of those stormy times, he never lost sight; and which, I permit myself to say, there never seemed to me more need than there is now to remember and to invigorate.

"He cannot, however, leave the subject without adverting to a possible misapprehension of his views upon the importance and sacredness of the rights of the States under the Constitution, which might arise from the nature of the discussion which has been attempted. It will be observed, that his only object has been to vindicate the sovereignty of the General Government against the assaults made upon it by advocates of the rights of inhabitants of States who had renounced allegiance to it, and had engaged in civil war for its overthrow; and, consequently, that the discussion has been almost exclusively confined to considerations of the relations of the States to the General Government in that aspect only, and of the subordination and limitations of State sovereignty rather than of its attributes. But none can be more profoundly impressed, than he believes himself to be, with the essential importance and inviolability of the rights intended to be secured to the several States under the Constitution. He accounts their individual independence and sovereignty over the domestic relations and municipal law, and the internal governments of their respective inhabitants, as the very foundation-stones of the National Government. The preservation of this sovereignty and independence, to the fullest extent warranted by the Constitution, he considers to be chief among the fundamental principles of American statesmanship; as the only means possible of maintaining a free and energetic government over territories of extent so vast as those already comprised within our national boundaries; as the safest barrier against attempts at executive usurpation; as the main bulwark against the natural tendency of the General Government, as of all others, to consolidation and centralization of its authority; and which, not thus controlled, attaining at first to the exercise of arbitrary power by the many, would, as all his-

tory prophecies, eventually terminate in practical despotism ; and, above all, as the sufficient and only instrumentality for educating and disciplining successive generations in the knowledge and practice of political rights and duties, by which alone they can be made capable of self-government.

“And no one will hail with profounder gladness a just perception on the part of the inhabitants of the Rebel States of their true relations to the Government, and their return to their constitutional places in the Union, which, unhappily for us all, they have made vacant.”

In all of these writings, the argument of Mr. Loring is always calmly, if sometimes urgently, expressed. He labored to give whatever force he could to his reasoning ; but was conscious of his strong feeling, and on his guard against an inappropriate expression of it. To me, as I now read them over, this reasoning seems to be extremely strong, and, for the most part, conclusive. It could not convince those who were unable to admit the principles which he assumed, holding them indeed as axioms ; and it cannot be necessary to say that all reasoning, upon any subject, must begin with truths that are taken for granted. Nor could he hope to influence those who had already confirmed themselves in opposite conclusions. I am sure, however, that no candid reader could for a moment doubt that his views were most carefully and elaborately thought out, and were honestly believed to be rational and just ; and that this reasoning had led himself, and was offered that it might lead others, to conclusions which he held most sincerely and most firmly.

His style as an author may be said to be in exact accordance with his character and his habits of thought ; as, perhaps, every author's must be to some extent. It is strong, direct, and clear ; with no attempt at eloquence, and not one particle of affectation. He manifests, as was before intimated, a desire to avoid exaggeration, but no wish to escape from an honest exhibition of his strong feeling and decided conviction. There is but little ornament, and none for the sake of ornament. His words are a transparent medium for his thoughts ; and as they

were never the special object of his own care, so they do not catch the attention of the reader, and turn it aside from his meaning. In his writing, as in his whole life and conduct, he sought for and he found the becoming and appropriate; and more he did not seek. He desired to appear well always; but seeming was to him of far less value than being.

It may be added, as illustrating a trait of his character, that, when he began to write for the public, he complained that his style, which was formed by the habits of a speaker, was bad for a writer. It was diffuse, not always accurate, or constructed with sufficient care. Old as he was he set himself, to use his own phrase, to learn to write; for his sense of duty was never satisfied unless whatever he had to do was done as well as it could be done. His friends thought him rather a severe critic of his own work; but some effect of his efforts may be traced in his successive productions.

He was one of the founders of the Union Club in Boston, and labored earnestly in establishing it and in promoting its interests, in the belief that it would exert a useful influence in forming and cherishing a spirit of patriotism among its members, and through them in the community. He was President of the club at his death.

It was not only with his pen, but with his voice, that he labored in those days of peril and disaster. He was willing to speak always when he thought he could be useful. In 1864, when Mr. Lincoln was a candidate for re-election, a meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, at which Mr. Loring presided. His opening address was published in the papers. The following passage, quoted from it, may serve as a fair specimen of his style in public speaking, and as an expression of the profound feeling which urged him to do his utmost through all that fearful conflict.

"It is no question of merely personal preference of one candidate over another, nor the ascendancy of a political party in the government of the country; no question of expediency in finance, of internal econ-

omy, of foreign diplomacy, or even of fundamental construction of the Constitution. But it is one which underlies all these. It is the question whether our National Union shall be preserved; whether we shall continue to exist as a great and independent nation, capable of self-government at home, and possessing power to protect ourselves from foreign aggression and to secure the enjoyment of 'the mildest rule the sun ever shone upon,'—or shall be split into any number from two to thirty-four or more of distinct, weak, and distracted municipalities, with clashing interests and embittering jealousies, to drive us eventually into military despotism, as our only refuge from anarchy and perpetual war."

His father belonged to the Congregational Society, worshipping in the West Church, Lynde Street, Boston; and Mr. Loring remained all his life a member of it. No one who knew him doubted the reality and strength of his religious sentiment. But of doctrinal religious belief he seldom spoke. He called himself a Unitarian; but precisely where he stood in the wide circle of those who bear that name, I know not, and doubt, indeed, whether he had sharply defined this place in his own mind. For many years of the most active part of his life, he was the Superintendent of the Sunday school of that Society. His attendance was constant, and his lessons were carefully and conscientiously prepared; and his addresses to the children were thought by associate teachers and others who heard them to be among his happiest efforts; and after he resigned the office of Superintendent he would occasionally visit the school and address the children, even to the last year of his life.

He had always a remarkable power of approaching the young, and exerting an influence over them,—not children only, but young men, and especially the numerous students who were prepared in his office for the labors of their profession. This was due, in large measure, to the fulness of sympathy with which he entered into their states of thought and feeling. In this respect, as in many others, the freshness and vitality of youth were undimmed in him by the shadows of advancing age.

Let me now speak of him as he was at home, — the home which he made a happy one for all whom it sheltered, and where he found the happiness he valued most.

In 1818, at the age of twenty-four, he married Miss Anna Pierce Brace, of Litchfield, with whom he had become acquainted while a student in the Law School at that place. This union, founded upon the sincerest mutual affection, was one of uninterrupted happiness, until it was terminated by her death in 1836. In 1840 he married Miss Mary Anne Putnam, a daughter of the late Hon. Samuel Putnam, a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. She was one of several sisters who were noted for their charming manners and attractive qualities. She died in 1845. He married in 1850, Mrs. Cornelia Goddard, widow of George A. Goddard, and daughter of the late Francis Amory, of Boston. This lady still survives him; and I refrain from saying more than that they were worthy of each other; and there need be no higher encomium upon either.

By his first marriage Mr. Loring had two sons and two daughters, all of whom survive him. By his third marriage he had one child, who died in infancy.

Mr. Loring was eminently hospitable. No trait of his character was more salient or more constant. Let me repeat a remark I heard made recently by one who spoke from experience: "In their house you found the perfection of hospitality with an entire absence of display." He was one of those who found their pleasure in giving pleasure to others. His acquaintance was extensive; and strangers visiting Boston and bringing with them any distinction of position or of merit, were usually entertained by him, and through him obtained access to his wide circle of friends.

His winters he passed in Boston. But in 1844 he purchased, for a summer residence, a farm on the Beverly shore. It was then a common farm, nowise distinguished from others, but in its bounding upon the sea, its wide and smooth beaches, its mas-

sive rocks, and its beautiful trees, which in many places came down to the water side. He saw its beauty; and he had the taste and skill to improve this to the uttermost. He built a modest house, which only by successive additions became large enough to meet the needs of his hospitality. There he spent his summers; coming to Boston as the requirements of business called him, or, when he could, taking his papers to Beverly and working over them there. It would be difficult to say whether he found most enjoyment in the thorough cultivation of his farm, or in that skilful development of its beauty, which has left it without a rival among the many charming estates which lie along that lovely shore.

The same thoroughness and industry with which he tried his cases and gave opinions, and commanded his military company, and discharged his other duties, he brought to bear upon this new employment. He studied gardening and farming, reading the best books on those subjects, and putting in practice what he learnt from books. He examined the nature of the soil, and improved the different fields by putting on them the different chemical ingredients they required; he ascertained what fruits were best adapted to the seashore, and the best rotation of crops for such a farm, and the special effects of different manures; and took great pains and spent much money in obtaining the most useful and valuable animals. He did all these things systematically and kept a full record of his doings. And it gave him great pleasure when the neighboring farmers, who laughed at him at first, began to consider him as an authority, and to profit by his experience and instruction. We used to think he felt more pride in being considered a good farmer, than in his success as a lawyer.

The free access to his place which he permitted to all alike, strangers or friends, should not be omitted, for it illustrates that most prominent trait in his character which I have already stated and am glad to refer to again, the pleasure he found in giving pleasure to others. He had a large barn upon

his place, built at great cost, and so skilfully adapted to agricultural purposes that it was regarded as a kind of model, and brought persons, some from a considerable distance, to see and study it. This he liked ; but there was another thing about it which I believe he liked still more. It made the best play-place possible for the children of his neighbors, when heat or rain made them seek its shelter. I lived one summer in his neighborhood, and my grandchildren were with me. They soon found out where to go to find companions and to sport at pleasure ; and he provided for them there means of amusement. When I went there to look after my contribution to this noisy crowd of little ones, he would often come in, never casting any restraint upon them by his presence, but always enjoying their enjoyment.

Well do I remember his eagerness, as the spring opened, to go to this beautiful home. And there he lingered until approaching winter drove him back to Boston. He bought the place when his health was much broken, in the hope, which the result justified, that he should find invigoration not only in the rest and pleasant occupation it afforded him, but in its atmosphere, which gathered from the sea a bracing influence, and in that sheltered spot was not so harsh and bleak as it is too apt to be on our Atlantic shore in the "Easterly days" which alternate rapidly with our summer heats. Its immediate neighborhood was full of pleasant roads, leading through beautiful and singularly diversified scenery. This was not a small advantage to a man of his tastes and habits. So much sedentary occupation and mental labor made it necessary for him to take active and regular exercise ; and finding he could get most of this, with the least expense of time, in the saddle, for many years he rode every day, and never gave up this habit. He had fine horses and was proud of them. I think he was proud, too, of his skill and hardihood as a horseman : he certainly had a right to be so.

Dearly did he love that beautiful home, much of whose

beauty he made and all of it he enjoyed. There he passed his summers, which were always too short for him. And there, after some months of much pain and constant discomfort, which it was hard to bear, but which he bore with his accustomed patience and fortitude, he died, on the 8th day of Oct., in the year 1867.

On the evening of June 13, 1818, some young men met, by the invitation of Mr. William H. Gardiner, in his room, in the house of his father, the late Rev. Dr. Gardiner, to form a club. They did so; and others were added in the three years immediately following, until the whole number was twenty-four; none were afterwards received; Mr. Loring became a member in the first year. It never had any name but "Club," and was neither cumbered nor helped by any rules. We met on alternate Tuesdays, supping, and in later years dining, together. For a short time there was some endeavor to give it a literary character; and some of the papers read there were published in numbers under the title of "The Club Room." But this soon came to an end; and probably not half a dozen complete copies are in existence: I should not know where to find half as many. The club became merely conversational, and has always so remained. In its earlier years, when we all had many engagements and amusements, our attendance upon it was not regular or constant; but it became so in later years. This club is mentioned in Mr. Ticknor's charming memoir of W. H. Prescott. I speak of it now for two reasons. One is, that Mr. Loring was one of the most constant attendants and took the deepest interest in all that concerned it. We all—I am sure I may speak for others as well as for myself—valued it exceedingly. Conversation there ran through all imaginable topics. It was always free, always perfectly unreserved. We had known each other so long and so well, that the thought of any disguise or concealment could not occur to us; for never perhaps was there a society of such men, all of

whom were so thoroughly acquainted with the tastes and characters, the opinions and the feelings, on all subjects, of each other. There was abundant diversity among us; but if there was seldom entire agreement, still more seldom did disagreement become discord. In the old phrase, we agreed to disagree; and one of the causes of the unabated interest with which it held us all was the certainty that any subject discussed there would be considered by one or another under most of the aspects which it could present. One reason for speaking of this club has been given; it was the interest which Mr. Loring took in it and the value he set upon it. There is another; for it was there that I learned to know him, and, as I believe, to know him thoroughly. When, many years ago, I was in the practice of my profession, we met in our cases, sometimes acting together and sometimes in opposition. I saw much of him in court, in cases in which I was not concerned, and met him not unfrequently; but it was in the club that I saw him most and saw most of him. His presence could always be counted on, unless he was held away by some potent obstacle; for, as he often said to us, he permitted no engagement or occupation which he could control to keep him away. These lines may fall under the eyes of those who did not know him; and to them it may be well to say that if no one more enjoyed the social pleasures of the club, no one added more to them. Interested in every thing which interested others; pouring forth with the perfect unreserve of long and intimate friendship all his thought and feeling, and welcoming equal unreserve on the part of others, the club was to him, and he helped to make it to us all, a means not of entertainment merely, but of that ripening of thought which could not but grow out of—sometimes the collision and always the freest intercourse—of minds which represented almost every phase of opinion or of sentiment upon almost every subject.

The last time I saw him was in his house in Beverly, in July, 1867, where, in accordance with his usual custom, after

our regular winter meetings were over, he invited us to dine with him at the season when his beautiful place was most attractive. Never was he more hospitable; never did he give to his guests a kinder or more cordial reception. But even then it was evident to us that his health was failing, and that he thought it was failing. The disease had then at least begun, although its true character was unsuspected, which soon after developed its fatal power, and terminated his earthly life.

At that dinner, in reference to some remarks made at the table about old age and its insidious decay, he said he was so much afraid of this, that he had bound three different friends upon whose judgment and fidelity he could rely, by a solemn promise, that, if they saw symptoms of approaching imbecility which he did not himself detect, they would tell him so at once, and thus prevent his continued hold upon duties which he could no longer faithfully and fully discharge.

Mr. Loring closes a letter, written on the day after that dinner, to one of our number who could not be present, — Mr. W. H. Gardiner, — thus: "We had a very quiet but genial session, as becomes our age and our regard for each other, and I think all enjoyed it much. You were most affectionately remembered throughout the day; and I need not say your absence was most deeply regretted with profound sympathy for its cause. We did not forget you in our talk, nor in a heartfelt pledge to your health and welfare. Club is one of the brightest of the rays of our setting sun; — but that is already touching the horizon."

For him it indeed touched and soon sank beneath his earthly horizon. Nor can it linger long in the darkening sky of the few — five only — of the members who still remain here. But while any one of them retains his memory, the recollection of those meetings, and of the friend who was held to us by ties to which not only personal regard but fifty years of intimacy had given strength, cannot be lost.

I do not forget that I am writing this memoir for another

and very different body of his associates; but I must ask them not to forget that if the warm, true, earnest friendship of the man were not made prominent in any portraiture, it could not be faithful to him.

I am not willing to close this imperfect memoir of Mr. Loring without presenting a trait, which none who knew him could fail to observe: I refer to the singular purity of his life and conversation. No person ever heard a tale, an allusion, a word from his lips, which would have been forbidden by the strictest morality or the highest refinement. Seldom, if ever, was any thing said in his presence, which might not be said in the presence of women by one who felt their refining and protective influence. There was indeed something feminine about him. This man, in whom all the elements of manliness were gathered, had also much of the delicacy, the tenderness, the ready and affectionate sympathy which belong to women. And these parts of his nature harmonized. Always courteous, there was a kindness in his courtesy when the object of it was a woman, which was the same to all, and could not be greater to any than it was to all.

I would mention yet another trait. He could be indignant and express his anger with abundant plainness or severity. But he could not sneer. No one ever heard from him any sarcasm. He enjoyed the sportive wit and pleasantry of others; but, to be enjoyed by him, it must be wit that did not sting. I have more than once referred to his most characteristic disposition to find pleasure in giving pleasure. I only say the converse of this, in adding that he could not take pleasure in saying what gave pain or in witnessing the pain such words gave. Then, he did not join in the laugh: his sympathies were on the other side.

There was a singular mingling of conservatism and enthusiasm in his character. Believing that the institutions and arrangements of society were on the whole good and wholesome, and firmly convinced that the condition of mankind had ad-

vanced through the past and was still advancing, not rapidly, and not without alternations, but not more slowly than was needed to make this advance real and permanent, he had little faith in violent and convulsive reforms ; and looked with dislike and fear on efforts and on changes which some regarded with exulting hope. To those who favored and urged on those movements, he seemed to belong to the party of retardation rather than to that of progress. And yet through his whole life, every effort, individual or organized, which seemed to hold out any promise of preventing, or removing, or lessening wrong or suffering, had not his sympathy only, but whatever assistance he could render. To enumerate all such instances would be to tell how all his years went by. I have omitted, for example, his interest in the Aid Society for Unfortunate Children, of which he was President ; his earnest efforts to resist the annexation of Texas, and, later, the invasion of Kansas. Of such things, and of others less in importance but of like kind, it would not be difficult to give a long list. I have abstained from this, wishing only to mention facts and incidents which were needed to illustrate his character. Of those who knew him best, some may think that in this way I have failed to do him justice. On the other hand, I am not insensible to the danger that this sketch—and it is no more—of the distinctive characteristics of a friend so dear to me may seem, and may be, overcharged. No portrait can seem lifelike or be faithful if it be wholly without shadow. I would willingly tone my picture down, as far as I may with truth and honesty.

In the first place, then, I do not present Mr. Loring as a genius ; as having one of those great intellects which by an admitted supremacy makes its possessor a giant among common men. He had excellent sense ; his insight into persons and facts was more than commonly rapid and penetrating. His power of acquiring knowledge was, I think, unusual, although the constant labors of his whole life had prevented his giving to his mind a wide and diversified culture. This indeed

was made impossible by the condition of his eyes. Always weak, sometimes very painful, and generally becoming so with almost any attempt to use them in reading or writing, it seemed to us a marvel how he could do, and do so thoroughly, such an immense business. In his later years his eyes were stronger. Then only, and not often then, could he open a book in the evening. But he made use of whatever opportunity came to him to enlarge his acquaintance with the best literature of the day. His memory was strong and prompt: it held firmly whatever was committed to it, and offered it up for use readily and accurately. Whatever ability he had was strengthened and disciplined by constant exercise. His superiority, however, lay more in his character than in his intellect. He always seemed to me an excellent illustration of one of the wisest sayings of that wise man, Dr. Thomas Arnold, the great English school-master. A friend wrote to him, asking what general truths or principles had most strongly impressed themselves upon his mind, as the result of his long instruction of so many young men, his intimate acquaintance with as well as his deep interest in them, and his careful observation of them not only as pupils but in their subsequent careers of failure or success. I quote from memory only, but Dr. Arnold's reply, in substance, and nearly in words, was, "There is nothing I am more sure of than that force of character constantly wears the aspect, wins the name, and does the work, of force of intellect."

Mr. Loring's temper was, usually, and indeed almost uniformly, sweet and calm; but he was sensitive, and sometimes irritable. It appeared to me that his ailments and nervous excitability had much to do with this; and the strength of his convictions and the positiveness of his belief had still more. But if in conversation he ever grew too insisting, peremptory, and impatient of reply, and if his urgency ever passed beyond the limits which a due regard for the rights or the feelings of others would have set, I think he saw it as soon as any one, nor was it ever long before his gentleness and courtesy renewed their sway.

And now I find myself wholly unable to add to this list of demerits. Let them have their due effect and weight. I earnestly desire to present him only as he was. How indeed could I remember who it is that is the subject of this brief memoir, and not permit the recollection to compel me, if I needed the compulsion, to seek to be, in all I say of him, truthful and just?

SPECIAL MEETING.

A Social Meeting of the Society was held at the house of Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, 39 Beacon Street, on Thursday evening, April 28th, the President in the chair.

The President read a letter from Mr. Charles J. Hoadly, of Hartford, which contained the following passage:—

In reading, not long since, Archdeacon Hale's "Series of precedents and proceedings in criminal causes, extending from the year 1475 to 1640, * * illustrative of the discipline of the church of England," Lond. 1847, I met, on p. 259, with the enclosed, relating to one of the early assistants of Massachusetts. It is of very little importance and very likely not new to you, though I do not remember to have seen any reference to it in any of the books published on our side of the water.

["29 Nov. 1636.

ARCHDEACONRY OF ESSEX."]

"Sandon. *Contra Thomam Sharpe et Tabitham ejus uxorem, Thomam Sharpe, juniorem, et Annam Wittam.* * * They doe all refuse to bowe at the blessed name of Jesus, or to stand up at the Creed, according to the cannon: but doe scoffe at the minister and others that doe. The said Tabitha did not come to be churched in a vaile; nor did kneele by the communion table, accordinge to the Rubricke: The said Sharpe is a common depracer of the government ecclesiasticall, and of the rites and ceremonies of this church, since his cominge from Newe England. * * Citentur."

The asterisks are in the print. Sandon is the name, I suppose, of the parish.

The President also read a letter from a gentleman in London, communicated by President Eliot of Harvard College, containing the following description of an enamel portrait, in miniature, of Washington; and saying that its present owner, now residing in London, is desirous of parting with it in order to realize its value:—

“This enamel of General Washington was given me by Mr. Peabody. Its history is this: It was done by W. Bone (enameller on copper to George III.), who carried the art to perfection. Since his death the art has become extinct. It was taken from a sketch of Washington a few years before his death, and is the likeness of a much older man than any of the few portraits in existence, and the date, 1796, which, with the artist's initials ‘W. B.,’ to be seen on the left side of the picture, shows that it was enamelled but two years before his death, which took place in 1798. Formerly it was in a small rosewood frame on the back of which is the artist's full name. This is still in my possession. Mr. Peabody had it removed from the frame and placed in this present simple but handsome gold setting, which he considered emblematical of the original. Mr. Biden, in Cheapside, was the goldsmith employed.

“The picture was executed for a family in England, and the member into whose possession it passed, being in need of money, brought it to Mr. Peabody, knowing his interest in all things connected with the history of the United States. He bought it and gave it to me in 1859. He always alluded to it in some way whenever I saw him, for he considered it of great value.”

A photograph of the enamel portrait was also exhibited, and in connection with it the President presented to the Society a print of an original miniature of Washington by William Birch, in the possession of Charles G. Barney, Esq. The resemblance between the two portraits would seem to leave little doubt that the enamel of Bone was taken from the miniature of Birch.

Mr. APPLETON exhibited a selection of coins and medals relating to America, and read the following paper descriptive of them:—

Medals and Coins relating to America.

Numbers I., II., and III. form the only complete set known to exist of the earliest coinage of New England. 27th May, 1652, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered, "That all psons whatsoever have libertie to bring in unto the mint howse, at Boston, all bullion, plate, or Spanish coyne, there to be melted and brought to the allay of sterling silver by John Hull, master of the sd mint, & his sworne officers, & by him to be coyned into twelve pence, six pence, & three pence peeces, which shalbe for forme flatt, & square on the sides, & stamped on the one side with NE, & on the other side with XII^d, VI^d, & III^d, according to the value of each peece," &c. This order remained in force less than six months, and probably many of the coins were remelted for the pine-tree issue, so that now all are rare. Not more than half a dozen sixpences can be found, and of the threepence only one other specimen is known to collectors, and that is in the cabinet belonging to Yale College. Thomas Snelling, in his account of the coins of the English Colonies, 1769, says, "The first pieces coined at this time [1652].—or, rather, stamped,—were six-pences and shillings [of which he gives plates], having on one side NE, and on the other VI and XII for their respective values; we are also told there was another sort struck with III, for three-pence, but we have never yet met with it in any cabinet, and even the other two are very scarce." Ruding, well known as the best authority on English coinage, says, "Those coins also which are stamped with NE only near the edge on the one side, and with the figures XII or VI in like manner, on the other, and commonly reported to have been struck at Newcastle, it is said were, as well as the last [the pine-tree money], monies of New England, and of about the same date with them." After quoting from Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay," the passage relating to them, he adds: "The three-pence spoken of above has never been discovered."

Numbers IV. to XI. are shillings, sixpences, a threepence, and a twopence of the pine-tree money, ordered by the General Court, 19th October, 1652, to "have a double ring on either side, with this inscription—Massachusetts, and a tree in the center on the one side—and New England, and the date of the yeare on the other side." The two-penny piece was not authorized till 1662. The coining of this money was continued for many years, and there is a great number of different dies for the same value. Each of the four shillings here

shown is unlike the others, but all agree with the design ordered by the General Court. There are many printed accounts of this money, and references to the fact of coinage, which I have not thought necessary to quote here.

In 1776, two or three pieces were prepared as patterns for a proposed coinage of copper for the State of Massachusetts. One of them is in my collection, and is number XII. of this series. It is thus described: MASSACHUSETTS STATE; a pine-tree, and in the field characters resembling I C L M, and conjectured to mean "One cent lawful money." Reverse: LIBERTY AND VIRTUE; in exergue 1776; the Goddess of Liberty, sitting on a globe, facing the left, holding in her right hand a liberty-cap, and with her left supporting herself by a long spear; at her feet is a small animal. Copper, size 20. Nothing is known of its origin, but it has naturally been said to be the work of Paul Revere: it is considered to be unique. In 1786 the State ordered an issue of cents and half-cents, of which specimens follow, numbers XIII.-XVI., thus described: COMMONWEALTH; an Indian standing facing the left, resting his right hand on a bow, and holding an arrow in his left; before his face is a star. Reverse: MASSACHUSETTS; in exergue 1787 or 1788; an eagle displayed, with an olive-branch in right claw, and in left arrows; on his breast is a shield, with the value, CENT or HALF-CENT.

Number XVII. is of English origin, and has an elephant on one side, and on the other, GOD: PRESERVE: NEW: ENGLAND: 1694. Copper, size 18½. It is excessively rare, not more than two or three being known, and came from the collection of J. J. Mickley, of Philadelphia, long the best in this country.

Number XVIII. is still more rare, only one other being known to collectors. It is of the Bermudas or Sommer Islands, where, Captain John Smith says, "they had for a time a certain kind of brass money, with a hogge on one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges which were found at their first landing." The coin has on one side an antique ship under sail, and on the other a hog, or rather a wild-boar, with the inscription, "SOMMER ISLANDS," and the value XII., showing that it was probably a token for a shilling. Snelling described this identical specimen, in 1769, as being in the cabinet of Thomas Hollis: it came to me from the collection of Mr. Mickley. It is of copper, size 20.

In 1659, Lord Baltimore issued a coinage of silver for his province of Maryland; a set of which is shown by numbers XIX.-XXI., comprising shilling, sixpence, and fourpence. CÆCILIVS: DNS: TERRE-

MARIÆ : & CT. ; the head of Lord Baltimore facing the left. Reverse : CRESCITE : ET : MVLTIPlicAMINI ; his coat-of-arms and coronet, and at each side of it the numerals of value, XII., VI., and IV. respectively. These end the series of colonial money.

The next few pieces are patterns, prepared before the adoption of the cent in 1793. Nos. XXII. and XXIII. came from the collection of Mr. Mickley, and are considered unique : I certainly know of no others. NOVA CONSTELLATIO ; an eye surrounded by rays, between which are thirteen stars. Reverse : LIBERTAS . JUSTITIA . 1783 ; a wreath, within which are U. S., and the numerals 1000 and 500 respectively. These seem to be pieces of 1000 and 500 units, as proposed by Gouverneur Morris in 1782, and sent to the President of Congress as specimens in April, 1783. In this month, also, Robert Morris wrote : "I sent for Mr. Dudley, who delivered me a piece of silver coin, being the first that has been struck as an American coin." The smaller one is probably meant by Samuel Curwen, who wrote 15th May, 1784 : "Mr. Bartlett presented me with a medal struck in Philadelphia : in a round compartment stands, U. S. . 5 . 1783 ; round, *Libertas et Justitia* ; on the other side, in the centre, an eye surrounded by a glory ; the whole encompassed by *thirteen stars*, — with the legend, *Nova Constellatio*." The piece does not exactly answer to this description, but there is no other which comes so near. The design is frequently found in copper of the same year, and, with a slight difference, of 1785.

Numbers XXIV. and XXV. are of the highest rarity, only two or three others being known. They are identical, except that one has on the edge the words, TO BE ESTEEMED BE USEFUL. They are thus described : LIBERTY PARENT OF SCIENCE & INDUSTRY ; in the field 1792 ; a head of Liberty facing the right, with flowing curly hair ; on the edge of the bust is the artist's name, BIRCH. Reverse : UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ; a wreath of olive, within which are the words ONE CENT, and, below, 1792. Copper, size 21. They were designed in Philadelphia by the artist whose name they bear, and are much larger than the cent as adopted, and issued in 1793. It is not easy to say why the design on them was not approved, as the head is more beautiful than is seen on the common cent, and the motto is certainly very expressive. There are two smaller patterns in the same style, which, though less rare than the large ones, are wanting in my collection. Numbers XXVI. and XXVII. are patterns, of the same year, for a dime and half-dime, with the same inscription, but abbreviated for the small size of the coins ; the heads are quite differ-

ent; each has on the reverse an eagle flying, and below, the words "DISME" and "HALF DISME," respectively.

The remaining pieces here described are medals, all relating to American history.

I. A map of the New World, and round it the inscription, GENTES SERVIENT EI DONEC VENIAT TEMPUS QUO EÆDEM AB IPSO SERVITUTEM EXIGENT. *Jer.* 27, v. 7. Reverse: View of a bay, with many ships in it and near it; below the inscription, in seven lines: VI. ID SEPT. CIO. IO. CXXVIII. AUSPIC. FED. REGIM. BELG. SOCIET. IND. OCCID. DUCTU. P. P. HEYNI. POTITA. EST. IN. ET. SUB. MATANZA. SINU. CUBA. INS. REGIA. CLASSE. ARGENTEA. REGNI. NOVE. HISP.; around: FILIA BABIL QUASI AREA CALCABITUR AB AQUILONE TEMPORE MESSIS EIUS. *Jerem.* 51, v. 33 et 48. Silver, size 40. This medal celebrates the capture of a Spanish treasure-fleet in the Bay of Matanzas, Cuba, in September, 1628, by the Dutch, under Admiral Peter Heyn, who was in consequence created Lieutenant-Admiral of Holland. I have another smaller and less interesting medal on the same event.

II. FR. CHRIST. DE. LEVI. D. DAMPVILLE. P. FRANCO. PROREX. AMERICÆ; bust of the Duke, with long flowing hair, and in richly decorated armor, facing the right; below the bust, I. HARDY. F. 1658. Reverse: EX. TE. ENIM. EXIET. DUX. QUI. REGAT. POPULUM. MEUM; a shield with a coat of four quarters, on a mantle of ermine, and crowned by a ducal coronet. Bronze, size 31. This is a medal of François Christophe de Lévi, Duc de Dampville, who was first appointed Viceroy of America in 1644, and in 1655 obtained a new patent as Viceroy of the Islands and Main Land of America, including Guiana, the country on both sides the Amazon, &c. The irreverent quotation on the medal must refer to the family name, and derives its point from the absurd claims to antiquity made by the French family of Lévis.

III. LUDOVICUS MAGNUS REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS; head of Louis XIV., with curling hair, facing the right; below the bust, DOLLIN. F. Reverse: FRANCIA IN NOVO ORBE VICTRIX; in exergue, KEBECA LIBERATA, M.DC.XC.; a crowned woman representing the city of Quebec, seated on a rock, resting her left arm on the shield of France, and pressing her right foot on a shield, which seems to bear stars; behind are English flags and pine-trees, at her feet a beaver, and at one side the river-god St. Lawrence. Bronze, size 26. This, of course, refers to the melancholy failure of the expedition from New England against Canada in 1690.

IV. and V. On both: LUD. XV. REX CHRISTIANISS; head (different on each) of Louis XV., facing the right; below, the initials of the artist's name. Reverse of IV.: SUB OMNI SIDERE CRESCUNT; in exergue, COL. FRANC. DE LAM. 1751; an Indian with bow and arrows, standing near some plants, which I take to be tobacco. Reverse of V.: NON VILIUS AUREO; in exergue, COL. FRANC. DE LAM. 1755; an ancient galley, with a fleece hanging from the mast. Both are of copper, size 18. The latter medal probably commemorates some particular event connected with the fur-trade.

VI. THE GIFT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA; the arms of the city. Reverse: KITTANNING DESTROYED BY COL. ARMSTRONG; in exergue, SEPTEMBER. 8. 1756; an Indian village in flames, in the foreground an officer and three soldiers, one of whom has just killed an Indian, seen falling at the right, near a corduroy road. Pewter, size 27. This commemorates the destruction of an Indian village on the Ohio by troops under Col. John Armstrong, of Carlisle; to whom, with his subordinate officers, the city of Philadelphia voted a medal.

VII. GEORGIUS. II. DEL GRATIA; laureate head of George II., facing the left. Reverse: LET US LOOK TO THE MOST HIGH WHO BLESSED OUR FATHERS WITH PEACE; in exergue 1757; a white man and an Indian seated under a tree, the former handing a pipe to the latter; in the heavens the sun is shining with wonderful brilliancy. Silver, size 28. This medal was struck by an association of Quakers in Philadelphia, for the purpose of presentation to the Indians, and of promoting peace and friendship with them. Mine has evidently been worn.

VIII., IX., and X. all celebrate the same event. VIII., A rock, and over it a globe, inscribed, in the proper parts, CANADA. AMERICA, resting on a prostrate naked female figure, who has just dropped a fleur-de-lis; at the left is a British grenadier in uniform, and at the right a New-England sailor, waving his hat, and between them, on a scroll, PARITER. IN. BELLA; behind the globe is the British flag, and, above, Fame is flying, her right hand holding a long trumpet to her lips, and in her left two wreaths of laurel; in the distance are several boats and a high rock; on the rock, in the foreground, T. PINO. P. Reverse: LOVISBOURG. TAKEN. MDCCLVIII; a view of the attack on Louisburg, taken inside a battery with soldiers and guns, from one of which a ball just fired is seen in the air, leaving a long track; at the right is a fortified city, and at the left a lighthouse; on the ocean

are several ships, one of which is in flames, and a number of boats. Silver, size 28. IX., ADM^t BOSCAWEN . TOOK . CAPE . BRETON; bust of the Admiral, in armor, facing the right. Reverse: LOUISBOURG; in exergue, IUL 26 1758; in the foreground the ocean, with five ships, and beyond, a curious view of the attack on the city, with a cannon-ball just striking a high tower. Copper, size 25. X. Same inscription; the Admiral is in naval uniform, with a baton in his right hand. Reverse: LOUISBURG HARBOUR; in exergue, IUL 26 1758; a similar scene, but reversed in position, and without the cannon-ball. Copper, size 23. Nothing need be said about these medals, except that the first is a very beautiful one.

XI. BRITANNIA; in the field, to right, WOLFE, — to left, SAYNDERS; a classic female head, facing the left, and, below, a wreath, through which are crossed an antique standard and a trident. Reverse: QUEBEC. TAKEN MDCCLIX; in exergue, SOC. P. A. C.; the winged figure of Victory, with a palm in her left hand, with her right places a wreath of laurel on an antique military trophy, in which is the shield of France, and at its foot sits a captive bound to its base; beyond is seen the prow of a galley. Silver, size 25. XII., THE CONQUEST OF CANADA COMPLETED; Neptune seated, holding an oar, and leaning on the prow of a galley, a beaver running up his leg; beyond is an antique standard, with the name AMHERST inscribed in a wreath, a lion above it; in exergue, the shield of France, a bow, quiver, and tomahawk. Reverse: MONTREAL TAKEN MDCCLX; in exergue, SOC. PROMOTING ARTS AND COMMERCE; a female figure personifying France, seated under a pine-tree weeping; before her the shield of France, a sword and tomahawk, and, behind, an eagle on a rock. Silver, size 26. This medal is copied from the famous "Judæa Capta" of the Romans. Both of these were of course struck by the Society for Promoting Arts and Commerce to celebrate the events recorded on them.

XIII., XIV., and XV. are all in honor of one man. XIII., GVLIELMVS PITT; bust of Pitt, in flowing wig, facing the left; on edge of bust, T. PINGO F. Reverse: THE MAN WHO . HAVING SAVED THE PARENT . PLEADED WITH SUCCESS FOR HER CHILDREN. Copper, size 26. XIV., LIBERTATIS VINDEX . GUL : PITT; a rude head of Pitt, in a wig, at three-quarter face to the right. Reverse: BRITANNIA ET AMERICA IUNCTÆ; a wreath, within which are two hands clasped over a sword with a liberty-cap on the point. Copper, size 21. This medal is very rare, and nothing is known of its origin. XV., THE .

RESTORER OF . COMMERCE. 1766. NO . STAMPS ; bust of Pitt, facing the left. Reverse: THANKS TO THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY AND TRADE ; in the field, AMERICA ; a man-of-war, with flags flying Copper, size 18. The inscription on this piece sufficiently explains it

XVI., D'VLUGTENDE AMERICAANEⁿ VAN ROHDE YLAND AUG^t 1778 ; a view of Rhode Island, with soldiers fleeing across it ; to the right are boats filled with men, and to the left three men-of-war. Reverse: DE ADMIRAALS FLAG VAN ADMIRAAL HOWE 1779 ; a British man-of-war. Brass, size 20½. This curious little Dutch medal celebrates the evacuation of Rhode Island by the Americans on the approach of the British fleet under Admiral Howe.

XVII., JOANNI PAVLO JONES CLASSIS PRAEFECTO. COMITIA AMERICANA ; bust of Paul Jones, in uniform, facing the right ; on edge of bust, DUPRÉ. F. Reverse: HOSTIVM NAVIBVS CAPTIS AVT FVGATIS . AD ORAM SCOTIAE XXIII. SEPT. M.DCCLXXXVIII. DUPRÉ. F. ; a view of the fight between the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis," &c. Silver, size 36. This is one of the medals voted by Congress, and is one of the most beautiful and interesting. We find allusions to it in the letters of Jones, who wrote thus, 9th September, 1788 : "The position of the two ships is not much amiss ; but the accessory figures are much too near the principal objects ; and he has placed them to windward instead of being, as they really were, to leeward of the Bon Homme Richard and Serapis."

XVIII. REBELLION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD ; a woman in armor, with a sword in her right hand, and a spear in her left, pressing her right foot on a man lying prostrate, and with her left foot keeping down a chain, which he holds in his left hand ; near is a crown on the ground ; above, in a label, VIRGINIA. Reverse: HAPPY WHILE UNITED ; in exergue, 1780 ; a white man and an Indian seated under a curious tree, and shaking hands ; the Indian holds a pipe ; at the left is the ocean, on which are three vessels ; the piece has a loop formed of an eagle's wing and a pipe. Copper, size 46. Nothing whatever is known about this strange piece, nor another specimen. I consider it a great curiosity.

XIX. COLUMBIA AND WASHINGTON : COMMANDED BY J. KENDRICK ; a ship and a sloop on the ocean. Reverse: FITTED AT BOSTON, N. AMERICA FOR THE PACIFIC OCEAN BY J. BARRELL, S. BROWN, C. BULFINCH, J. DARBY, C. HATCH, J. M. PINTARD. 1787. Silver, size 27. An account of the voyage of these vessels, and the discovery of Columbia River, may be read in Green-

how's "Mémoir of the North-west Coast of North America," in which it is stated that each vessel took out a number of these medals, struck for the purpose of distribution among the natives of the places she might visit. Probably most of them were thus used, for they are now quite rare. Unfortunately the designer's name is not on them.

XX. TH. JEFFERSON PRESIDENT OF THE U. S. 4 MARCH 1801; bust of Jefferson, facing the left; below, the initial of the artist's name,—R. Reverse: UNDER HIS WING IS PROTECTION; in exergue: TO COMMEMORATE JULY 4 1776; a female figure, in armor, stands at the left, supporting with her right hand a long pole, on which is a liberty-cap, and with her left hand holding a scroll inscribed, *Declar.* INDEPENDENCE, over a rock inscribed, CONSTITUTION, near which are a horn of plenty, a drum, and military equipments; in the air is an eagle with a wreath in his beak. Silver, size 29. Unfortunately, this beautiful medal has no history: I suppose it was struck by some political society to commemorate the triumph of party in the election of Jefferson.

XXI. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MARCH 4. 1825; head of Adams, facing the right; on edge of bust, FURST. Reverse: SCIENCE GIVES PEACE AND AMERICA PLENTY. FURST. F.; Science, represented by Minerva, supporting a spear with her left hand, with her right presents an olive-branch to America, personified by an Indian seated on a horn of plenty; at the left, behind Minerva, is an eagle on a stump of a tree. Silver, size 32½. This is perhaps the most beautiful medal yet produced in this country.

XXII. N. ENGLAND SOC. FOR PROMOTION OF MANUFACTURES AND MECHANIC ARTS. 1826; head of Archimedes, facing the right; below the bust, ARCHIMEDES, and on its edge, GOBRECHT. F. Reverse: GENIUS INTELLIGENCE AND INDUSTRY TRIUMPH; a carding-machine, a steam-engine, and a steamboat, each in a framed panel; above, the names ARCHIMEDES GALILEO NEWTON FRANKLIN WATT FULTON, shedding a flood of rays over the clouds; at the sides are various plants, and, below, C. GOBRECHT. F. Silver, size 40. This is also a very handsome medal; and both this and the last are strangely rare, considering their recent date. The designers, Furst and Gobrecht, were long in the employ of the United-States Mint. Furst designed most of the medals presented for the victories of 1812-15; and Gobrecht, in 1836 and 1838, designed some exquisite patterns, which were so far in advance of the taste of the officers of the Mint, that they were not adopted.

XXIII. HENRY CLAY ELECTED PRESIDENT A. D. 1844; head of Clay, facing the left. Reverse: THE MILL-BOY OF THE SLASHES INAUGURATED MARCH 4TH 1845; a man on horseback, near a mill. Brass, size 16. This is one of the few lying medals in the American series. There are several such of other countries, showing that medals can no more be absolutely depended on than any other form of historic evidences. The list of medals, of all countries, which commemorate events that never took place, is long and very curious.

The last ten medals form a series, which, for lack of a better name, may be called the Revolutionary Peace Medals. This includes all medals struck to celebrate any of the events connected with the successful ending of the war of American independence, with the recognition of this fact by foreign powers, and with the signing of the treaty by which Great Britain finally accepted it with all its consequences. Some of these medals are excessively rare, and I doubt if another equally extensive collection is in existence. There are one or two more, not here described, whose absence prevents even this from being an absolutely complete collection.

1. LIBERTAS . AMERICANA; in exergue, 4 JUIL . 1776; on edge of bust, DUPRE; a beautiful head of Liberty facing the left, with hair loosely streaming backwards; over the right shoulder a pole, on which is a Phrygian cap. Reverse: NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS. (Horace, Book III. Ode IV., 20); in exergue, 1ST OCT. 1781; on platform, DUPRE. F; the infant Hercules in his cradle, strangling two serpents, while Pallas protects him, with a spear in her right hand, and in her left a shield charged with the lilies of France, against which a leopard is throwing himself. Silver, size 30.

The dates on the reverse are those of the surrender of Burgoyne and of Cornwallis. This exquisite medal is of French work: the idea was Franklin's, and he caused it to be struck under his direction, assisted by Sir William Jones, who supplied the mottoes.*

* These statements are proved by the following extracts from Franklin's Works, Sparks's edition: "This puts me in mind of a medal I have had a mind to strike, since the late great event you gave me an account of, representing the United States by the figure of an infant Hercules in his cradle, strangling the two serpents; and France by that of Minerva, sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe specked with a few *fleurs de lis*. The extinguishing of two entire armies in one war is what has rarely happened, and it gives a presage of the future force of our growing empire." This medal was subsequently executed, under the direction of Dr. Franklin, with some variation in the device.—*Letter to Robert R. Livingston*, March 4, 1782, vol. ix. p. 173. "The engraving of my medal, which you know was projected before

II. Three standing figures; the middle one, a warrior, personifying Holland, with his right hand grasps that of a woman in barbarous dress, who leans on a shield, inscribed, DE VEREENIGDE STAATEN VAN NOORD AMERICA; at her feet are a sceptre and broken shackles; at the right is a woman, holding in her right hand an olive-branch, and leaning on a shield inscribed, GROOT BRITTANJEN; at her feet lies a snake, and behind her sits a dog, who is kept back by the extended left hand of the warrior; above him, in the clouds, is an angel, carrying a liberty-cap to the United States; in exergue, B. C. V. CALKER F. Reverse: AAN DE STAATEN VAN FRIESLAND TER DANKBAARE NAGEDACHTENISSE VAN DE LANDSDAGEN IN FEBR. EN APR. MDCCCLXXXII TOEGEWID DOOR DE BURGER SOCIETEIT DOOR VRYHEID EN YVER TE LEEUWARDEN. (To the States of Friesland in grateful remembrance of the Assemblies held in February and April 1782. Dedicated by the Civic Society "Through Freedom and Zeal" at Leeuwarden). A right hand from the clouds holds the crowned shield of West Frisia. Silver, size 28.

This medal and the five following are of Dutch origin. The best explanation of the events causing them and the dates borne on them is found in the letters of John Adams, as printed in the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution." He wrote from Amsterdam, 27th Feb., 1782: "Friesland has at last taken the provincial resolution to acknowledge the independence, of which United America is in full possession." In a later letter he communicates the resolution as passed 26th Feb. The action of April will be more properly noticed with the next medal.

III. LIBERA SOROR.; in exergue, SOLEMNI DECR. [ETO] AGN.

the peace, is but just finished. None are yet struck in hard metal, but will be in a few days. In the mean time, having this good opportunity by Mr. Penn, I send you one of the *épreuves*. You will see that I have profited by some of your ideas, and adopted the mottoes you were so kind as to furnish." — *Letter to Sir William Jones*, March 17, 1783, id. p. 501. "I have caused to be struck here the medal which I formerly mentioned to you, the design of which you seemed to approve. I enclose one of them in silver, for the President of Congress, and one in copper, for yourself: the impression on copper is thought to appear best, and you will soon receive a number for the members. I have presented one to the King, and another to the Queen, both in gold, and one in silver to each of the ministers, as a monumental acknowledgment, which may go down to future ages, of the obligations we are under to this nation. It is mighty well received, and gives general pleasure. If the Congress approve of it, as I hope they will, I may add something on the die (for those to be struck hereafter) to show that it was done by their order, which I could not venture to do till I had authority for it." — *Letter to Robert R. Livingston*, April 15, 1783, id. p. 515.

[ITA] 19 APR. MDCCCLXXXII; at the left an armed woman, personifying Holland, with her right hand grasps that of an Indian queen, while on a pole in her left she holds a liberty-cap over the head of the Indian, who stands at the right, bearing in her left hand a shield charged with thirteen stars, a spear, and a chain which holds a leopard, on whose head she presses her left foot; between the figures is an altar, on which fire is burning, and above them are rays of the sun. Reverse: TYRANNIS VIRTUTE REPULSA; in exergue, SUB GALLIÆ AUSPICHS; I. G. HOLTZHEY FEC; an open landscape, with a high rock at the left, at the base of which lies a unicorn, royally gorged, who has broken his horn against the rock. Silver, size 28½.

The date on this medal refers to a resolution of their "High Mightinesses, the States-General of the United Provinces, Friday, April 19, 1782," which ends thus: "it has been thought fit and resolved, that Mr. Adams shall be admitted and acknowledged in quality of Envoy of the United States of North America to their High Mightinesses, as he is admitted and acknowledged by the present."

IV. FAYSTISSIMO FOEDERE JUNCTÆ . DIE VII OCTOB . MDCC-LXXXII; Fame seated on the clouds, supporting with her right hand two shields, one of Holland, the other charged with thirteen stars; above them is a crown, and below, the club of Hercules and lion's skin; her left hand holds to her lips a long trumpet. Reverse: JUSTITIAM ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS (Virgil, *Æneid*, Book VI. 620); in exergue, S . P . Q . AMST . SACRVM; I. G. HOLTZHEY FEC.; at the left is a pyramid, on the base of which hang flowers and a scroll inscribed PRODRAMVS (a forerunner); on the front of the pyramid the crowned shield of Amsterdam rests against crossed fasces; Mercury, flying through the air, is about to place a wreath on the crown; in the foreground are a basket of fruit and an anchor, on which stands a cock, whose left claw holds something not easily recognizable; in the distance is the ocean, on which are several vessels. Silver, size 29.

V. The same medal, size 21.

VI. EN DEXTRA FIDESQUE; in exergue, DEN. 7 OCTOBER 1782. I. V. B.; at the right, a woman sits on a bale of goods, resting her left arm on the shield of Holland; near her stands a pole, on the top of which is a liberty-cap; her right hand is extended to receive an olive-branch from a man in classic dress standing at the left, who offers it with his right hand, and with his left supports a staff, from which flies the "Stars and Stripes"; near him is a barrel, filled to overflowing with Indian corn. Reverse: HEIL, VRIJGESTREEN AMERIKAAN:

GANSCH NEERLAND NEEMT UW VRIENDSCHAP AAN. GODS GUNST VEREEN TWEE VRIJE LANDEN, TOT WEERZYDS NUT, DOOR VASTE RANDEN. (Hail to you, American, who have fought out your freedom: All Netherland accepts your friendship. God's grace unite two free lands, to mutual good, through solid ties.) Below is a caduceus, between a branch of olive and a branch of laurel. Silver, size 20½.

The dies for these medals were evidently prepared in advance of the event, for we find in Mr. Adams's letters that the signing of the treaties, which was to have taken place on October 7, was put off till the next day, on which, October 8, "were executed the Treaty of Commerce and the convention concerning recaptures."

VII. NEDERLAND VERKLAARD AMERICA VRY. (Netherland declares America free.) In exergue, I. M. LAGEMAN; a woman in classic dress, holding in her right hand a bundle of seven arrows, and supporting a lance, on the top of which is a liberty-cap, in her left a caduceus; at her feet are a cactus and a horn of plenty, and in the distance are fortifications and a range of hills. Reverse: DE ALGEMEENE WENSCH. (The universal desire.) In exergue, 1782; a group of bales and barrels, a boat with one mast, and a tall trident-headed staff, from which hang the flags of Holland and the United States. Silver, size 21½.

VIII. LIBERTAS AMERICANA; in exergue, MDCCLXXXIII; in field, CE; Louis XVI. in royal robes, and on his throne, facing the right, pointing with his left hand to a shield charged with thirteen bars, which a woman, representing either Liberty or Authority, has just hung on a column, surmounted by a cap of liberty. Reverse: COMMUNI CONSENSU; Pallas standing, facing the right, supporting with her right hand a spear, by the side of which an olive springs up; her left hand holds a ribbon, tied in a bow, from which hang the shields of France, Great Britain, Spain, and Holland; on the ground lies a shield with the head of Medusa. Silver, size 29.

IX. SIC HOSTES CONCORDIA IVNGIT AMICOS; in exergue, PRUDENTIA & FATIS; in field to the left, MAHO, to right, GIBR; at the left a woman, in classic dress, with an olive-branch in her left hand, with her right grasps that of another woman, who supports with her left hand a pole, on which is a liberty-cap; between the figures are a horn of plenty, the shields of Ireland, France, and Spain; behind the first figure is the shield of Scotland, and behind the second a shield charged with several bars, for the United States; in the field at each side is a battle between a fort and several vessels, and above the

figures is a triangle, from which proceed rays; in the exergue is a view of a large fortified seaport-town. Reverse: *ENSIBVS EX MARTIS LVX PACIS LETA RESVRGIT*; in exergue, *OPE VVLCANI 1783*; a woman, with an olive-branch in right hand and a horn of plenty in left, stands on a man in armor lying prostrate with a broken sword in right hand; in the distance is an open sea, with mountains and vessels to left, and a battle between a fort and several vessels to right; in the air above is the sun in splendor, and an angel flying to right, with a wreath in left hand, and in right a trumpet through which he sounds the words *FIAT PAX*. Tin, size 27½.

I know nothing of the origin of this medal, and have seen but one other specimen, which was in the Mickley collection. On the obverse, allusion is made to the capture of Port Mahon in Minorca, and the defence of Gibraltar, both which events happened during the war of American independence.

X. *FELICITAS BRITANNIA ET AMERICA*; in exergue, *MDCC-LXXXIII SEP. 4*; at the right a woman, personifying Great Britain, is seated, facing the left; by her side is a shield with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, in her left hand is a spear, and with her right she seems to grasp the left hand of an Indian queen, who advances toward her, with a bow in right hand, and a quiver behind her back; between them flies a dove with an olive-branch; the distance seems to present a view of London, in which St. Paul's Cathedral and the Monument are plainly seen. Reverse, in centre: *WE ARE ONE*; on a ring, from which extend thirteen rays, *AMERICAN CONGRESS*; beyond the rays a circle of thirteen rings, inscribed, *MASSCHS, N. HAMPS, CONNECT, R. ISLAND, N. IORKE, ? , PENSILVA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, N. CAROLIN, S. CAROLI, GEORGIA*. Tin, size 25.

The date on this piece is that of the treaty by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of her former colonies, now the United States of America. A similar piece, and the only other one I have seen, is in the cabinet of Charles Clay of Manchester, England, President of the Manchester Numismatic Society. He describes the edge as reading "Continental Currency," but mine has an ornamental milling, like some old Spanish dollars. The execution of both is very rude.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM spoke of an interesting letter relating to the battle of Lexington, which lay upon the table, of which Mr. Appleton has furnished a copy for the "Proceedings": —

BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.*

April 18th — We are in the utmost confusion; some of the Troops last Night went out of Boston, & have just Heard that they Have killed two or three Men.

21st — The night before last the troops went in Boats from Boston to Horse Farm & so marched to Concord. In their march killed 8 men, but who fired first I believe none can tell. They went on to Concord, and destroyed the Magazine & Stores, then retired to Charlestown, firing on our people & they on them. A most terrible Day it was, the Women & Children fled out of Town, as we expected they would come into it. Our family went up to M^r Temples; we just escaped the Army, having reached M^r Irelands when the Regulars got to the Neck, & ours come down Winters Hill. The Regulars marched up Capⁿ Fentons or Bunkers Hill and ours returned Back again. None fired after they got into Town. Then they got leave of the Town to let their Men go into the Meeting House & town House, till they could get over. The Boats come and Carried them over, when the people tho't we were all safe, & sent up to M^r Temples where Vast Numbers from Town had fled. Two M^r Russels & wives went to Town & found they had brought over another Regiment of Soldiers, who in the night encamped on the Hill, and the Town was again in the greatest distress. In the morning M^r Temple got a pass for as many as would to return Home. I went with him, but O! I cant describe to you the Melancholy sight, to behold the preparations that was making on the Hill, & before I reached home met 500 more marching up to the Hill. The Town I thought was gone, before night tho't it would be so fortified that we must give up or Die. But thro' the goodness of God in three Hours every Soldier was out of the Town & we in Quiet. They were frightened & fled as If pursued; but no man pursued them; they heard an Army was come against Boston. This but an imperfect acc^t but cant do more at present.

Mr. APPLETON presented the original manuscript of a circular signed by sixty-four merchants and firms in Boston, to be

* Probably written by Dr. Isaac Foster, of Charlestown, Harv. Coll. 1758, to his sister Eleanor, wife of Dr. Nathaniel Coffin of Portland, Me.

sent to the country banks, urging them to provide for the redemption of their bills. As an incident occurring over sixty years ago, connected with the financial history of Boston, it may not be regarded as unworthy a place in our "Proceedings." The circular is labelled "Original Bank Circular, 1809":—

To the Cashier of

Bank.

Boston,

SIR:—

The subscribers, merchants, and traders in the town of Boston, from a disposition to afford every facility and convenience to their country customers, have been in the habit, since the establishment of Country Banks, of receiving the bills issued by them in payment for goods or debts at par,—and which they were for a good while enabled again to circulate without loss.

Within the last two years, however, many Country Banks have unwarrantably abused this confidence placed in their bills, by refusing payment of them when presented, or by opposing every obstacle which chicanery and artifice could invent to delay or evade it. The obvious consequences have followed, the public confidence has been shaken, their faith in written promises of institutions avowedly established as *patterns of punctuality* no longer exists. Country Bank paper has depreciated, and cannot be negotiated without a discount which varies from *two to four* per cent. We have, however, in hopes this unwarrantable conduct would be abandoned, continued to receive this paper at par, and borne the loss of the discount, till our patience is exhausted and our suffering interest calls loudly for a change of measures. We have therefore found ourselves compelled to send the bills home for payment, and in case of refusal shall proceed to the collection by due course of law. We beg you will communicate this letter to the President and Directors of Bank, and hope that by a prompt payment of their bills they will save us from the disagreeable necessity of resorting to the legal alternative."

We are, Sir, your very obedient servants,

STORROW & BROWN
HAVEN, WILLIAMS, & Co.
BOND & PRENTISS
GASSETT, UPHAM, & Co.
RICE, REED, & Co.
PETER DICKERMAN
PHINEAS FOSTER

CHARLES & GEO. BARRETT
WILLIAM APPLETON & Co.
HOWE & SPEAR
SAMUEL MAY
JNO. BINNEY
JNO. GREW
SAMUEL BILLINGS

MINCIN & WELCH	JOSEPH TILDEN
MUNROE & GROSVENOR	DAVID S. EATON
SETH WRIGHT & SON	COLBURN & GILL
WHITNEY & DORR	GILES LODGE
SAMUEL DORR	CABOT & LEE
LUTHER FAULKNER & Co.	JOHN TAPPAN
DAVID GREENOUGH	JONATHAN PHILLIPS
B. & T. WIGGIN	S. J. PRESCOTT & Co.
S. & N. APPLETON	LOVEJOY & TAGGARD
BELLOWS, CORDIS, & JONES	JOSEPH NYE & SON
SEWALL, SALISBURY, & Co.	N. & R. FREEMAN
GORE, MILLER, & PARKER	EBEN'R. & JNO. BREED
S. & H. HIGGINSON	TORREY, SYMMES, & Co.
ANDREW ELIOT	TUCKERMAN, SHAW, & ROGERS
JOSHUA DAVIS	F. & S. CLARK
STEVENS & JOY	SMITH & OTIS
BENJ. RICH	FREEMAN & CUSHING
PARKER & APPLETON	KIRK BOOTT
KNOWLES & HURD	PRATT & ANDREWS
OTIS & DWIGHT	RICHARDSON & WHEELER
JAMES & JNO. CARTER	THOMAS WIGGLESWORTH
BRYANT P. TILDEN	WHITNEY, CUTLER, & HAMMOND
TIMOTHY WILLIAMS	CORNELIUS COOLIDGE & Co.
THOS. C. AMORY & Co.	WM. SHIMMIN
EBEN. FRANCIS	URIAH COTTING.

MAY MEETING, 1870.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, May 12th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read.

In the absence of the Librarian, the list of donors was read by the Recording Secretary.

Among the donations announced was a manuscript copy of the oration delivered by Nathaniel Appleton Haven, Esq., of Portsmouth, N.H., May 21, 1823, two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers; and of the poem on that occasion by O. W. B. Peabody, Esq.,—presented by George B. Chase, Esq., of Boston.*

* This oration, in 1827, was included in a printed volume, entitled "The Remains of Nathaniel Appleton Haven, with a Memoir of his Life. By George Ticknor."

Mr. WHITMORE presented a copy of the earliest printed Catalogue of the Society's Library, containing some manuscript additions.

The Hon. William T. Davis, of Plymouth, was elected a Resident Member.

The Recording Secretary said he understood that our associate, the Rev. R. C. Waterston, was about to start on a trip to California, over the Pacific Railroad, on a tour of observation and pleasure, to be absent for some months; and he offered the following vote, which was unanimously adopted:—*

Voted, That the Rev. Mr. Waterston be requested, during his absence on his western tour, to represent this Society on any occasion that may be agreeable to himself, or may be for the interest of the Society.

Mr. APPLETON communicated the following letter from Henry Smith, of Wyrardisbury, or Wraysbury, Bucks, England, to John Pynchon, of Springfield, Mass., dated February 20, 1662, relating to the death of William Pynchon, one of the early settlers of Springfield, and furnishing the exact date of that event, which has hitherto been wanting in all published accounts of him:—

DEARE BROTHER PYNCHON:—Our most Cordiall love and respects salute you and yo^m Ioying in y^e continuance and extension of y^e goodness of God toward yow all, as by yo^r Letters recd appeares. S^t, y^e only wise Lord in whose hand is all o^r wayes & tymes, all whose works are done in wonderfull and admirable counsell, are very just holy and good even when they seemingly speake forth to vs the sharpest and sorest tryalls crosses and temptations, (as to Abra: when to offer vp his only Isaack.) dayly instructeth vs both by his word & workes to live in a dayly expectation of and p^rperation for changes in y^e o^r pilgrimadge. Its his vsuall course of dealinge with all his Saints to give y^m occasions of dayly exercise of those p^rciouse graces (y^e worke of his holy Spt in y^r hearts) w^h else would contract rust, or ly in

* Mr. Waterston went with a large number of gentlemen and ladies, forming a party projected under the auspices of the Board of Trade of this city. They left Boston on the 23d of May, and arrived at San Francisco early in the morning of the 1st of June. See Boston Newspapers of 23d May and 2d June.—Eos.

obscurity not shining forth soe splendid and bewteouse to y^e prayse of his gloriouse Grace in Je: Cht. The decree of God hath Limited us o^r stations so o^r tymes and dayes beyond w^h we cañot may not pass: The same is manifested in his late visitation vpon yo^r and our most loved and much Honrd ffather who expired and drew his last breath in Wyrardsbury Octobr: 29th, a loss to vs vnrepayrable, a gayne to him vnexpressable, making a blessed change from earth to heaven, from a state of corruption, to a state of incorruption, from imp^rfection to perfection; from a state of sin & sorrow to compleated joy and bliss, celebrating y^e everlasting prayses of God and of the Lámbe, who hath redeemed vs with his blood. Bro: I p^rsume yow are not altogether vnp^rpared for y^e sad tydings, w^h I am occationed as one of Jobs messengers to acquaint yow with, resolving all yo^r thoughts & greifes into y^t holy speech of his: The Lord gave and y^e Lord hath taken away, Blesed be y^e name of y^e Lord. Its one of God's vnalterable appoyntmts y^t all must dye. Death passeth on all men in as much as all have sined w^h should learne vs Davids silence and submission, because y^e lo: hath done it; and y^e rather seeing it pleased Him to continue him among vs soe longe to such an age, giving vs y^e opportunitys to reape y^e fruite of his godly & grasciouse exampls & counsell, w^h, now he is taken from vs, y^e lord help vs y^t we may practically ffollow, so running y^t we may obtayne y^e pmised recompence of reward, y^e Crowne of imortality & life, w^h he is now posseed of. Dear Brother, this pvidence (I suppose doth vnavoydably call yow to make a voyadge into these partes w^h all possible speede for y^e transacting and settling of yo^r affayrs heere, some things not being in soe good a posture as were to be wished: viz: y^e busyness of Carletons administration, w^h was like to be wholly obstructed on my ffathers death; But M^r Wickins a faithful freind being intrusted in his will to act in his behalfe, hath slackted no diligence or paynes therein, he will write to yow himself, therefore ile say no more to that. You are made sole Executor, M^r Wickins w^h my self are desired to be overseers of y^e same in yo^r absence. I carryed y^e will to him to London, w^h he hath since pved in the Prerogative Court, who will send yow a Coppy thereof. I was lately at London of purpose to communicate yo^r letters and Bills to him, for goods to be sent this yeare and care will be taken to send y^e greatest pt of them, by y^e first good ship.

Though vpon o^r conference w^h M^r Bridge & partners they make scruple of parting w^h any mony of yo^r in y^e hands, w^h out a particular order from yo^r owne hand y^t w^h yow give to my ffather for y^e dispose thereof being (they say) dead w^h him.

I spake with some of y^e men to whom yow directed yo^r bills, for goods, and they were all cheerfull to send wh^t yow write for, though they stay for payment till y^e next returne of ships. In much hast & breifly I give yow a hint of things, hoping this may come to yo^r hands, before other ships in w^h goods will be sent, by whom if God please yow shall heare further! Clarke is not yet arived, but dayly expected.

S^r, my selfe and wife wth all o^r children are at present in comfortable health, who all present y^e endeared respts to yow & yo^m: The mercy of y^e blessed mediator overshadow yow & yo^m and guide yow in all yo^r vndertakings y^e in due tyme we may see yo^r face to o^r mutuall Comfort soe prays

Yo^r ever Lovinge Brother

HENRY SMITH.

WYRARDSBURY febr: 20th
1662.

Addressed,

ffor his Deare and Welbeloved
Brother M^r John Pynchon,
at his house in Springfeild
on Conecticott.
p^rsent
New-England

Mr. DAVIS communicated the following paper on

"The St. Regis Bell."

On the 29th of February, 1703-4, the town of Deerfield, in Massachusetts, was sacked and burned by a party of two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, under Major Hertel de Rouville, and one hundred and twelve men, women, and children were carried into captivity, including the Rev. John Williams, and his wife and children. A full account of this raid is given by Hoyt, in his book on "Indian Wars," published in Greenfield in 1824. In that book, as I believe, appeared the first printed statement in relation to what has been since commonly known as the story of the "Bell of St. Regis." That story has since been the basis of many publications in poetry and prose, and has invariably been received by the public as substantially true. I propose to state the results to which I have been led by my own inquiries as to its authenticity.

Hoyt, who is a perfectly honest and truthful historian, states that Eunice, a daughter of the Rev. John Williams, never returned from

her captivity, but married an Indian; and he adds that "recently one of the great grandsons of Mr. Williams, under the name of Eleazer Williams, has been educated by his friends in New England, and is now employed as a missionary to the Indians at Green Bay, on Lake Michigan." Hoyt goes on to say as follows:—

"In a recent visit to Montreal and Quebec, Mr. Williams made some exertions to secure documents relative to his ancestors, particularly on his grandmother's side. . . . He found a Bible, which was the property of his great grandfather, the Rev. John Williams, in which is the date of purchase with his name; also the journal of Major Rouville, kept on the expedition against Deerfield in 1704, in which he frequently mentions John Williams as 'an obstinate heretick.' From the journal, it appears that Rouville's French troops suffered extremely from a want of provisions on the march to Deerfield, and were in a mutinous state when they arrived before the place; but were kept to their duty by the Indians, who, from their greater facility in procuring game in the woods, and superior hardiness, were faithful to the commander. Mr. Williams has also procured the journal of the commanding officer on the expedition against Schenectady, in 1690. These journals were obtained at one of the principal convents, where copies were required to be deposited on the return of the commanders of parties, as well as with the government. Mr. Williams states that when Deerfield was destroyed, the Indians took a small church bell, which is now hanging in an Indian church in St. Regis. It was conveyed on a sledge as far as Lake Champlain, and buried, and was subsequently taken up, and conveyed to Canada. Mr. Williams's father and other Indians at St. Regis, are well acquainted with the facts relating to the bell, as well as the destruction of Deerfield."

Hoyt adds in a note, "Communicated by Col. Elihu Hoyt, who recently conversed with Mr. Williams."

It will be observed that Hoyt, born in Deerfield, and always residing there, does not suggest the existence of any tradition or record in Deerfield, bearing upon this subject; nor does he appear to have seen the journals spoken of by Eleazer Williams.

The evidence, traditional or documentary, existing in Deerfield in relation to the matter, is fully and fairly stated in a letter dated Feb. 21, 1870, addressed to me by Mr. George Sheldon, of Deerfield, who has devoted much time to the investigation of the history of Deerfield, and whose statements are worthy of full credit. He writes as follows:—

"This romantic legend, so often repeated, has at length come to be accepted by most people as an historic fact. As a student of the early history of my native town, the bell story has become to me a subject of intense interest. In the course of my investigation, from a firm believer I became an utter sceptic, but at present am all out to sea. If there exists any satisfactory evidence anywhere, it would seem it must be lodged in the old convents or churches in Canada. In accordance with your desire, I will give some of the reasons for the lack of faith which is in me. . . . While not one particle of evidence has been found (by me, at least) to support the statement of Mr. Williams, on the other hand nothing better than negative evidence has been found to disprove it; but there is a good deal of that. The town records, covering a period of twenty years before the event, are complete, but give not the slightest hint that there was ever a bell in town. Town and parish were then one. In the 'Redeemed Captive,' a minute narrative of the events of the assault, the march to Canada, and of the captivity, and the repository of many reflections on the condition of his church and people, Mr. Williams gives us no hint that a bell ever summoned his flock to worship. His son Stephen has left us another account of the same events, entering into particulars, even more minutely than his father, and it seems almost impossible that the bell from his father's church could have been conveyed by the party either on poles or men's shoulders, or drawn upon a sledge, without so attracting his boyish notice as to leave some trace upon his journal; but we get no hint from him, though he was carried to St. Louis, and lived there long enough to learn the language.

"Aaron Denio, who was born in Canada of parents captured by Rouville at Deerfield in 1704, was a very prominent man, and lived to a good old age in the town of Greenfield. Many stories are told of him to this day, but none of them convey the faintest tone of a bell. Much is known and told of the Kellogg boys and girls, who grew to be men and women amongst the Caughnawagas, and who figured largely in the history of this part of the colony as officers and interpreters, but not the faintest tinkle of the bell can we wring from them. There lives in this town a bright, smart woman of eighty-eight years, with an astonishing memory, who tells many stories of her grandmother, who was born less than thirty years after the massacre, and whom she remembers perfectly; but not the faintest murmur of the bell is heard in them all.

"The church, at Deerfield, was square, with a four-sided roof, from

the centre of which sprung the centre belfry, which must have been fully exposed in every direction; at a distance of about eight rods stood the house of Benoni Stebbins, which was successfully defended to the last by a party of sharpshooters, and several Indians and at least one Frenchman were killed by their fire. A party in the belfry, it would seem, must be at their mercy. A service of such a peculiar nature, in the face of such imminent danger, could hardly have been accomplished without leaving some mark on the traditions of the times, but none have been discovered as yet. The field of inquiry, in this region, seems to be about exhausted; and I earnestly hope that some interested antiquarian, qualified for the work, will unearth those musty records, which are said to be deposited in convents or churches in Canada, and set the matter at rest, one way or the other."

In further illustration of the difficulties which the attacking party would have found in carrying away an article so cumbrous as a bell, I annex a copy of a petition, of which the original is to be seen in the Massachusetts Archives, with the legislative order indorsed on the original paper.

To his Excellency the Governour together with the Hon^d Council and Representatives met in the Great and General Assembly at Boston, May 31, 1704.

The humble petition of Jonathan Wells and Ebenezer Wright in the behalfe of the company who encountered the French and Indians at Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704, sheweth:

1st, That we, understanding the extremity of the poor people at Deerfield, made all possible haste to their reliefe, that we might deliver the remnant that were left, and doe spoil on the enemy.

2^{dly}, That, being joyned with a small number of the inhabitants and garrison souldiers, we forced the enemy out of town, leaving a great part of their plunder behinde them, and pursuing them about a mile and an halfe, did great execution upon them. We saw at the time many dead bodies, and we and others did afterwards see the manifest prints on the snow, where other dead bodies were drawn to a hole in the river.

3^{dly}, That the enemy being reinforced by a great number of fresh men, we were overpowered, and necessitated to run to the fort; and, in our flight, nine of the company were slain, and some others wounded; and some of us lost our upper garments, which we had put off before in the pursuit.

4thly, That the action was over, and the enemy withdrawn about fourscore rods from the fort, before any of our neighbours came into the fort.

Wherefore we doe humbly supplicate this Hon^d Assembly, that according to their wonted justice and bounty, they would consider the service we have done in preserving many lives and much estate, and making a spoil on the enemy, the hazzard that we run, the losse we sustained, the afflicted condition of such as have lost near relations in this encounter, and bestow upon us some proportionable recompence, that we and others may be encouraged upon such occasions to be forward and active to repell the enemy, and rescue such as shall be in distresse, though with the uttmost peril of our lives, and your petitioners shall pray, &c.

JONATHAN WELLS,
EBENEZER WRIGHT,

In the name of the rest.

In the House of Representatives. Read a first time, June 2, 1704.

In the House of Representatives, June 8, 1704.

In answer to the petition on the other side, —

Resolved, That the losses of the petitioners be made good, and paid out of the publick Treasury to such as sustained them, according to their account herewith exhibited, amounting to the sum of thirty-four pounds and seventeen shillings..

That the sum of five pounds be paid to each of the widows of those slain, mentioned in the list annexed, being four in number.

And, although but one scalp of Indians slain by them is recovered, yet, for their encouragement, that the sum of sixty pounds be allowed and paid to the petitioners, whose names are contained in the said list annexed as surviving, for scalp-money, to be equally divided amongst them, together with all plunder whereof they give account.

JAMES CONVERSE, *Speaker*.

Sent up for concurrence, June 9, 1704.

In Council.

Read and passed in concurrence.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary*.

The annexed list of persons engaged in the fight bears fifty-seven names. The plunder taken from the enemy is described in a schedule, of which the following is a copy:—

An account of w^t plunder was taken from the enemy, and solde by y^e company on the last of February, 1703-4.

	£	s.	d.
John Wells, one gun	01	09	00
" " one bariell of gun	00	03	06
Samuel Barnard, one gun	01	09	00
Thomas Russell, one bariell & lock	01	03	00
John Matone, a pece of gun	00	14	00
John Wells, 3 peces of guns	00	07	00
Thomas Barnard, one hatchet	00	02	00
Hezeciah Root, one blanket	00	09	00
Thomas Barnard, one blanket	00	03	08
Samuell Carter, one blanket	00	04	00
Jonathan Wells, one blanket	00	04	04
Ebene Farley, one cap	00	04	06
Jonathan Wells, one cap	00	06	00
William Belding, one cap	00	02	00
Jonathan Wells, one cap	00	03	00
Ebenezer Wright, one gun	01	15	00
Benja ⁿ Stebins, one pistill	00	10	00
John Graves, one hatchet	00	01	06
Joseph Smith, one gun	02	00	06
Ebene Boltwhood, one pistile	00	09	00
Samue ^l Dickeson, a hatchet	00	02	00
Natha ^l White, a hatchet	00	02	02
Thomas Howes, a hatchet	00	02	00
Sa ^l Church, a powderhorn	00	01	02
Nath ^l White, a blanket	00	05	08
Eben Seldin, a baganet	00	04	06
Sam ^l Field, a hatchet	00	02	00
Joseph Brooks, a gun	01	11	06
Zacrye Field, Ind ^a shoes	00	00	10
Nat ^l Coleman, gun case	00	00	06
Primus Noyes, glas botle	00	00	06
Richard Billing, glas botle	00	08	04
John Wait, a hatchet	00	02	07
Zacrye Field, a squaline	00	01	07
Sam ^l Warner, a squaline	00	02	10
Nath ^l Colman, a squaline	00	01	06
Jona Wells, a squaline	00	01	02
Zacrye Field, a cap	00	02	10
Sam ^l Wright, a kniffe	00	01	00

Amount carried forward £15 14s. 08d.

Amount brought forward	£15	14s.	08d.
Sam ⁿ Warner, a knife	00	01	03
Zacrye Field, a pair of snoshoes	00	05	03
Zacrye Field, a blanket	00	02	08
John Graves, a blanket	00	03	00
Thomas Wells, a blanket	00	05	00
Sum totall	£16	12s.	10d.

In following up this inquiry, it seemed important next to ascertain what evidence of the truth or falsehood of the story could be found at St. Regis. No long investigation was needed there, as it appears that St. Regis did not exist in 1704, nor till some half century afterwards. Rev. F. Marcoux, now resident priest at St. Regis, fixes it in 1759. Rev. B. F. De Costa, in an article on the St. Regis bell, in the "Galaxy" for January, 1870, fixes it in 1760. And Dr. F. B. Hough, in his history of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, states that the Indians from St. Louis settled there in 1760, and that their priest, Anthony Gordon, then gave it the name of St. Regis.

That these dates are not precisely correct, may be inferred from a letter which is to be found in the Massachusetts Archives, which seems to be a translation from an original letter by one P. R. Billiard. This letter, to which my attention was first called by Mr. Sheldon, seems to fix the settlement of St. Regis as early as 1754.

To Monseigneur the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of the Marine.

MONSEIGNEUR, — The Iroquois Indians of the Falls of St. Louis, near Montreal, in Canada, are of the Iroquois Agniers (Mohawks), who formerly left their country to come and settle along the river St. Lawrence. Those of them that remained in the place of their nativity presently came under the dominion of the English, being in the neighborhood of Albany, while the others became the allies of the French. As the people of the two villages are relations, we have seen from time to time some of those that were settled round Albany reunite with their brethren of the Fall of St. Louis. Mons. Duquesne, Governor-General of Canada, who perceived their inclinations, has always treated them with great kindness, and has privately engaged them to come and settle near him, knowing well, by experience in the last war, that they were the only Indians to be feared on the side of Fort St. Frederic and Lake Champlain.

A great number of them are determined in consequence of this,

and it is impossible the rest should stand out a great while. In the mean time, the village of the Fall of St. Louis being very numerous, is too much crowded; and, moreover, the quality of the land not permitting them to push out further there because of the marshy places that are throughout, several families of the Fall of St. Louis, with a great number of Iroquois Agniers, have desired to make a new settlement in a place where the land was more fertile: in the first place, for the convenience of life; and, next, to be out of the way of drunkenness, to which the nearness of Mountroyal exposed them; and the readiness of the French to sell them brandy, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of the Generals. Agreeably to this projection, they have made choice of a place in the King's territories, situated towards the south at the entrance of Lake St. Francis, half-way between the mission of the Falls of St. Louis and that of the Presentation. As this place appears to have all the properties for making a solid and advantageous settlement for the Indians, I came here with them; and it is actually the mission which I have now the charge of, under the title of St. Regis. But as the Agniers desire to have the peaceable possession of said territory, I take the liberty to ask in their name, —

1st, That they have granted to them the property of the territory lying south, at the entrance of Lake St. Francis, between two rivers; one to the north-east, called *Nigentsiagoo*; the other south-west, called *Nigentsiagè*; being in front six leagues, comprising the two rivers, together with the islands that lie towards the shore, for the said Indians to hold so long as their village shall there subsist, upon condition that if the mission is dissolved, the said lands shall revert to the King.

2d, That the Jesuites missionaries be authorized under the title of fiefdoms in trust to make the partition of said land among the Indians, and amicably decide any controversies that may hereafter ensue relating to this matter; and to manifest that the said missionaries in no wise seek their own interest in this, they desire it may be expressly prohibited both now and hereafter to make any grant to the French, as likewise to reserve for themselves, the missionaries, in said place any land for ploughing; and then the distance of the French will take away from the Indians the opportunity of copying their faults, and ruining themselves with strong drink.

3d, That you would please to favor the good dispositions of the governor-general by giving orders that they may have some assistance

in this settlement, advantageous, at the same time, to the interest of religion and the good of the colony.

P. R. BILLIARD, *Jesuite*,

Missionary to the Iroquois of the Mission of St. Regis.

ST. REGIS, Dec. 7, 1754.

Under date of "St. Regis, 1st April, 1870," Rev. F. Marcoux favors me with information as follows:—

"I will further add the tradition on the testimony of the most ancient inhabitants of this place, of whom some are almost contemporary with the foundation of their village in 1760, . . . that from 1760 down to 1835, there have been but two bells in St. Regis; one came from the Catholic Church of Fort Frontenac (now Kingston, Ontario), and was given to them, at their request, by one of the first governors of Quebec, after the conquest; the other was purchased at Albany in 1802. These two bells, having been cracked, were carried to Troy, N.Y., in 1835, and re-cast into a single bell. This is the tradition of St. Regis."

It has more recently been stated, however, that the tradition, though untrue as to St. Regis, is in fact true of a bell which is hanging in St. Louis (now Caughnawaga), a place situated on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and about nine miles above Montreal. In Hough's "History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties," published in 1853, the statement is made as follows:—

"While on a visit to Caughnawaga in October, 1852, the author found in the village a direct and consistent tradition of the bell, which is still used in their church; and among the records in the hands of the priest, a manuscript, in the French language, of which we shall give a translation. The bell is a small one, and once possessed an inscription, which has been effaced. The legend purports to have been found some fifteen years since in an old English publication, and is regarded by the priest of the mission, Rev. Joseph Marcoux, who has for many years resided there, as, in the main points, reliable."

The Rev. Francis Marcoux, of St. Regis, has also expressed his full belief in the existence and authenticity of the tradition as applied to the bell of St. Louis.

I am fully assured that the negative evidence which I have produced is sufficient to show that the tradition, if ever it existed, could have had no foundation in truth; and I have as yet not discovered any

precise and detailed evidence of the existence of this story before the preparation of Hoyt's book, nearly fifty years ago.

The "legend," of which Dr. Hough gives a translation, is calculated to cause doubt rather than belief. It does not profess to be founded on tradition, but is said to have been taken, some fifteen years before 1853, from an old English book; and Hoyt's book is the only one we know of, from which its leading facts could have been taken. This "legend" describes the St. Louis Indians, living nine miles from the church bells of Montreal, as having never heard the sound of a bell, and getting their first idea of its tones from the account of their priest, and going out in procession to wreath it with flowers, and overcome with rapture in hearing it for the first time. It seems to be simply a magazine story, in which a few well-known historical facts are decked with the ornaments of fiction.

Strong circumstances of suspicion attach to the story as first published by Hoyt. As published, it purported to come from Rev. Eleazer Williams, who, at the time of the publication, was a clergyman in good standing, whose statements of fact would be likely to be received with implicit belief. There were, without doubt, certain defects and improbabilities in the story as he told it. He spoke of obtaining Rouville's journal, and another of the same kind, "from one of the principal convents, where copies were required to be deposited on the return of the commanders of parties." I am informed by gentlemen accustomed to investigations among Canadian records,* that they know of no convent where manuscripts of that description were required to be deposited, or can now be found. He says that De Rouville, in his journal, describes Rev. John Williams as an "obstinate heretick." As De Rouville himself is described by Abbé Ferland (following Charlevoix) as a Huguenot, it is not probable that he would have used this particular term of reproach.†

The additional fact that Williams fixed upon an impossible *locale* for the resting-place of the bell, raises a strong suspicion that he invented the whole story.

All that is known of Mr. Williams goes to confirm this suspicion.

* One of these gentlemen is Mr. J. M. Le Moine, of Quebec, who has given great attention to the early history of the Dominion, and to whose intelligent kindness I am much indebted.

† Since the above was written, however, I learn that a communication by M. Faucher de St. Maurice has appeared in a Canadian paper, in which it is claimed that the De Rouvilles were, in fact, Catholics.

He could not resist any temptation to mystify the public. At one time he came to a distinguished antiquary, now living in New York, and told him that the priest's house in Caughnawaga had been left for some time untenanted, had been blown down by a tempest, and that he had then discovered, in a recess thus revealed in a chimney, a number of Indian manuscripts, which he had taken away with him to Green Bay in Michigan. Inquiry was immediately instituted, and it was ascertained that the house had neither been left untenanted nor been blown down, and that the whole story was fictitious. In 1853, very general attention was excited by two articles published in "Putnam's Magazine," asserting his claims to be considered the son of Louis XVI. of France. In one of those papers appeared his account of an interview with the Prince de Joinville, in which the prince was represented as making him large pecuniary offers if he would sign an instrument releasing his claim to the throne of France. To this proposition, according to his own statement, he returned an indignant refusal. This statement, being brought to the notice of the prince, was publicly contradicted by him as "a work of the imagination," and "a speculation upon public credulity."

Nothing, then, seems to me more likely than that Williams invented the alleged tradition of the Deerfield or St. Regis bell; but, however originated, it seems quite clear to me that the truth of the story is not sustained by the evidence now known.

JUNE MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday the 9th of June, at 11 o'clock, A.M. ; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Hon. William T. Davis, of Plymouth.

He also read a letter from Thomas B. Akins, Esq., of Halifax, Nova Scotia, presenting a number of copies of the Journals of the Legislature of that Province, and offering to supply any deficiency in the Society's set of those volumes.

The Corresponding Secretary also read a letter from Colonel James Warren Sever, of Boston, presenting to the Society a silver canteen and a pewter plate, which once belonged to Governor Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, and which bear his arms and initials, and expressing the wish that a suitable inscription should be engraved upon the canteen, and that it should ever be preserved in the archives of the Society. Whereupon, the following resolution was unanimously adopted : —

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Colonel James W. Sever, for the very interesting and highly acceptable relics of his ancestor, Governor Winslow, which have just been communicated in his letter of May 19th ; and that the request of the donor be complied with.

The President spoke of the death of Winthrop Sargent, Esq., a Corresponding Member, as follows : —

We have been called on of late to take notice of the deaths of Honorary or of Resident Members of our Society, who had completed, and more than completed, the common term of human existence, and in regard to whom we could have no regrets that they had left any expectations of future usefulness unfulfilled. It is our sadder duty, to-day, to

make mention of one who has been called away in the prime of life, and who had given large promise of valuable service in the cause of American History in years to come.

Mr. Winthrop Sargent was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1856. He was born in Philadelphia on the 23d of September, 1825, and had thus reached his forty-fifth year. He was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, in 1845, and received the degree of Bachelor of Laws, at the Dane Law School of Harvard University, in 1847. He exhibited an early interest in historical pursuits and researches, and few persons of his age have made more creditable contributions to the illustration of our Revolutionary and ante-revolutionary period.

In 1855, he edited for the Pennsylvania Historical Society the Journals of Officers engaged in Braddock's Expedition, from original manuscripts in the British Museum, with an introductory Memoir of the highest interest; a volume which has been everywhere recognized as containing the most accurate and thorough account of an expedition in which Washington played so important a part, and in the preparation for which Franklin, also, was a conspicuous actor.

In 1857, he published a beautifully printed and carefully annotated collection of "The Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution."

In 1858, he edited for the Pennsylvania Historical Society a Journal of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati Society, in 1784, from the original manuscript of his grandfather, Major Winthrop Sargent, a delegate from Massachusetts, who had served with distinction in various capacities through the whole Revolutionary War, and who was afterwards Governor of the Mississippi Territory.

In 1860, he published "The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury and Dr. Jonathan Odell, relating to the American Revolution."

In 1861, he published his most elaborate work,—"The Life and Career of Major John André,"—with a dedication to President Sparks; a volume full of attractive and valuable matter, and displaying the fruit of rich culture and rare accomplishments.

More than one of these productions, and especially the last, received honorable mention at home and abroad, and won the strong commendations of some of our best historical writers.

Mr. Sargent had more recently performed a labor of love for our own Society, in editing "The Letters of John Andrews, of Boston, from 1772 to 1776,"—which occupy nearly a hundred pages in our printed Proceedings for 1864 and 1865. He had also been a frequent contributor to the "North-American Review," and to others of our lead-

ing periodicals. But the events of the late war, and more especially the death of a beloved father, the late George Washington Sargent, a graduate of Harvard University in 1820,—who fell a victim, in 1864, to the unprovoked violence of a lawless soldiery,—interrupted his literary pursuits; and he thenceforth devoted himself to the quiet practice of his profession as a lawyer, in the city of New York. His failing health and spirits compelled him, during the last year, to seek rest and recreation in foreign lands; but he sought them in vain, and died of consumption in Paris on the 18th of May last.

He was a gentleman of the greatest delicacy and refinement, of ready wit and large resources, and whose agreeable companionship had endeared him to many friends. He was married, in his earliest manhood, to a daughter of his relative, Ignatius Sargent, Esq., of this city, but had been a widower for many years past. An only child, a son, survives him.

It has not been our custom to pass formal resolutions on the death of our Corresponding Members; but this brief notice will serve to secure a place in our records for the name and career of one who so well deserves to be remembered among those who have labored successfully in the illustration of our National History, and whose lives have been cut short before they had fulfilled the rich promise of their spring.

At the conclusion of the President's remarks, Dr. HOLMES said that he rose to add a very few words. He held in his hand a letter addressed to him by Mr. Sargent, before leaving this country, accompanying a roll of the 4th Co. 8th Mass. Regiment, dated in the year 1782, which Mr. Sargent sent, thinking it probably contained the name of one of his correspondent's relatives. Dr. Holmes offered this paper to the Society, believing that it might have an intrinsic interest to some of the members. It would be valued, he felt sure, as the last token from a cherished associate, whose character had been most tenderly and truly drawn by the President. Mr. Sargent was a gentleman whom it was impossible to know without esteeming and loving. His scholarship was so genuine, his tastes were so pure, his manners were so engaging, that he made friends wherever he went. As one of those whose personal intercourse with him had been occasional only, but always delightful, he had listened with deep gratifica-

tion to the just and cordial tribute offered by our President to his memory.

The President exhibited a photograph of the inscription on the pavement of the Nave in Westminster Abbey, in Memory of George Peabody, which had been kindly sent to him by Dean Stanley. The inscription is in these words:—

HERE
WERE DEPOSITED,
FROM NOV. 12 TO DEC. 11
1869,
THE REMAINS OF
GEORGE PEABODY,
THEN REMOVED TO HIS NATIVE COUNTRY
AND BURIED AT DANVERS, NOW PEABODY
IN MASSACHUSETTS.

—
"I HAVE PRAYED MY HEAVENLY FATHER DAY BY DAY
"THAT I MIGHT BE ENABLED BEFORE I DIED TO SHEW MY GRATITUDE
"FOR THE BLESSINGS WHICH HE HAS BESTOWED UPON ME,
"BY DOING SOME GREAT GOOD TO MY FELLOW-MEN."

—
"LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN,
THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS
AND GLORIFY YOUR FATHER
WHICH IS IN HEAVEN."
—

The President said that this memorial had recalled to his mind another monument in Westminster Abbey,—the only other one in which Massachusetts seemed to have a peculiar interest; namely, that to George, Lord Howe, who, under

Abercromby, in July, 1758, fell in an attack against Ticonderoga. For his virtues and military talents, Massachusetts, at the charge of £250, erected a monument to his memory.

The President spoke of the arrangements which were making for publishing the Sewall Papers, which had recently come into the possession of the Society. It was thought desirable that a subscription for a certain number of copies should be obtained beforehand, and the Standing Committee had prepared a subscription paper for names. The co-operation of the members was solicited.

The following committees were appointed: on the publication of the Sewall Papers, — Messrs Ellis, Torrey, Dexter, and Whitmore; on the "Hutchinson Papers," so called, claimed by the State, — Messrs Ellis, Parker, Washburn, Clifford, G. T. Bigelow, Thomas, and Ellis Ames; on the Society's Building, — the President, the Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, the Librarian, the Treasurer, Messrs. W. G. Brooks, Thayer, Mason, E. B. Bigelow, Lyman, and Appleton.

The President announced Part V. of the "Proceedings" as upon the table.

The President spoke of the return, and of their presence at the meeting this day, of Mr. Adams and Dr. Jacob Bigelow, who had each been on a tour to the West, — the one to Omaha, the other to San Francisco; and they were invited to report to the Society any thing which might occur to them as of interest.

Dr. BIGELOW responded, and gave a very graphic account of his visit to San Francisco, over the Pacific Railway.

Mr. ADAMS said he had nothing to report from his western tour, but he would read a letter which he had brought to the meeting, from Benjamin Franklin, addressed to Edmund Quincy, of Braintree.

LONDON Dec: 10, 1761.

SIR, — I should sooner have answer'd your obliging Letter of Jan: 9, but that I hoped from time to time I might be able to obtain some satisfactory Answers to your Queries. As yet I have done little, that

kind of Information being look'd upon as a Part of the Mysteries of Trade, which the Possessors are very shy of communicating. But I think I am now in a Train of obtaining more, of which I hope soon to give you a good Account. In the mean time I may inform you that great Quantities of Wine are made both here and at Bristol from Raisins, not by private Families only for their particular use, but in the great Way by large Dealers, for the Country Consumption. As New England trades to Spaine with their Fish, it would I imagine be easy for you to furnish yourself at the best hand with Plenty of Raisins, & from them produce a genuine Wine of real Worth that might be sold with you for good Profit. Being lately at a Friend's House where I drank some old Raisin Wine that I found to be very good, I requested the — [Some portion of the letter torn off.] . . . sound and good. It is thought here, that by far the greatest Part of the Wine drank in England, is made in England. Fine Cyder or Perry is said to be the Basis, Sloes afford Roughness. Elder Berries Colour. And Brandy a little more Strength. But of this I have no certain Account. The Porter now so universally drank here, is I am assured, fined down with Isinglass or Fish Glue, for which 60,000£ p^r Annum is paid to Russia. Of late it has been discovered that this Fish glue is nothing more than the Souns of Cod or other Fish extended & dry'd in the Sun, without any other Preparation. So you may make what Quantity you please of it, and cheap, Fish being with you so plenty. I heartily wish you Success in your Attempts to make Wine from American Grapes. None has yet been imported here for the Premium. With great Esteem, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

P.S. The Negotiations
for a Peace, in which Canada
was to be forever ceded to England, are at present off.
But whenever they are resum'd, I am persuaded that will be [torn].

N.B. One Ez^t Hatch, near Greenwood's mastyard, tells me that the Cod Souns or other may be Sav'd by stringing up & drying, that under this circumstance they will not dissolve in any liquor hot nor cold; but that taken & wrapped up in clean linnen cloath or other cloath, & covered up in embers so as to wast them, they will then dissolve, & that they will answer y^e end of Glue; but not so well of cod

as the souns of hake, w^{ch} is catch'd in or near y^e fall; those many joyn-ers at distant places use as Glew for their Cabinet work: roasted first in order to dissolve as Glue.

[Addressed]

To

Mr EDMUND QUINCY,

at Braintree or

Boston.

Free.

B. FRANKLIN.

After reading the letter, Mr. Adams presented it to the Society.

A conversation occurring on the subject of the "Cardiff Giant," so called, excavated last year in the village of Cardiff, Onondaga County, N.Y., and recently exhibited in this city, the following passage was read from Clark's History of "Onondaga, or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times," &c., 1849 (from the chapter headed Traditions of the Onondagas): "The Quis-quis, or great hog, was another monster which gave the Onondagas great trouble, as did also the great bear, the horned water-serpent, the *stone giants*, and many other equally fabulous inventions, bordering so closely upon the truly marvellous, that the truth would suffer wrongfully if related in full; but nevertheless are found among the wild and unseemly traditions of the race." (Vol. I., p. 43.)

The Librarian, Dr. GREEN, called the attention of the Society to a letter which had been extensively printed in the newspapers, particularly at the South and West. It was signed "Cotton Mather," and purported to give the details of "a scheme to bagge Penne," on the part of the colony of Massachusetts. In an accompanying statement, it is said that the letter was found by "Mr. Judkins, the Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in overhauling a chest of oid papers deposited in the archives of that body by the late Robert Greenleaf, of Malden." For the sake of historical truth, it is desirable to give an official contradiction to the story, and

to pronounce it a miserable forgery. The name of Mr. Jenkins is entirely unknown at this library; no such chest of old papers, as is alleged to have been deposited in the archives of the Society, has ever been received; and no such person, as the one stated to have made the deposit, is known to the members. The letter first appeared in the *Easton, Penn., "Argus,"* of April 28, and is dated "September ye 15th 1682." At this time, Cotton Mather was only nineteen years old, which fact alone would be presumptive evidence that he was not connected with any such piratical scheme. The story was fabricated by some one with the intention of deceiving the public, either for the purpose of putting its credulity to the test, or for creating a prejudice against the early founders of New England.

A copy of an early manuscript of Daniel Webster, on the "Acquisition of the Floridas," was presented by Mr. T. R. MARVIN, the original paper to be returned after the Society shall have made such use of it as it might wish. The original had been given to Mr. Marvin by Mr. Webster himself. It was probably written as a college exercise while Mr. Webster was less than eighteen years of age, and twenty-one years before the acquisition of Florida was actually accomplished.

ACQUISITION OF THE FLORIDAS.

Question. Would it be advantageous to the United States to extend their territories?

It might be supposed that a Republic, whose territorial jurisdiction encircles a more extensive portion of the earth's surface than falls to the share of almost any sovereignty in Europe, would never exert her energies for her dominion. It is true, on general maxims, that our country is sufficiently large for a Republican government; but if, by an inconsiderable extension of our limits, we can avail ourselves of great natural advantages, otherwise unattainable, does not sound policy dictate the measure? We reduce the question to a single point: would not the acquisition of the Floridas be advantageous to the United States? Here let it be remembered, that that part of the territory of our gov-

ernment, which lies north of Florida, and west of the Alleghany Mountains, including the north-western territory, Tennessee, Kentucky, and a part of Georgia, is, by far, the most fertile part of the Union. Nowhere does the soil produce in such exuberance; nowhere is the climate so mild and agreeable. The agricultural productions of this quarter, must then, in a few years, become immense, far exceeding those of all the Atlantic States. The next inquiry is, how shall this superabundance be disposed of? How shall the lumber, wheat, and cotton of this country be conveyed to a West India or European market? The only practicable method of transportation is down the Mississippi and the other rivers that run into the Mexican Gulf; and we have here to reflect, that those rivers all run through a country owned by the king of Spain, — a monarch, capricious as a child, and versatile as the wind; and who has it in his power, whenever interest, ambition, or the whims of his fancy dictate, to do us incalculable injuries by prohibiting our western brethren from prosecuting commerce through his dominions. Suppose the Spanish sovereign should, this day, give orders to the fortress of New Orleans to suffer no American vessel to pass up or down the river: this would be an affliction not to be borne by those citizens who live along the banks of the Mississippi; but what steps could our government take in the affair? Must they sit still and fold their hands, while such an intolerable embargo presses our commerce? This would be an ill expedient. We might as well give Spain our whole western territory, as suffer her to control the commerce of it. The only way we could turn ourselves, in this case, would be to declare war against Spain, and vindicate our claims to free navigation by force of arms. Here, then, we are under necessity of extending our territories by possessing ourselves of all the country adjacent those rivers, necessary for our commerce, or of giving up the idea of ever seeing Western America a flourishing country. Therefore, since we are liable, every day, to be reduced to the necessity of seizing on Florida, in a hostile manner, or of surrendering the rights of commerce, it is respectfully submitted, whether it would not be proper for our government to enter into some convention with the king of Spain, by which the Floridas should be ceded to the United States.

D. WEBSTER.

Dec. 25, 1800.

The President communicated from our Corresponding Member, J. Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia, some verses addressed to the inhabitants of Boston at the time of "the

siege." Mr. Fisher says, "I do not know the author, but presume they were written in Philadelphia, or on the eastern shore of Maryland. It is possible also they may have been printed somewhere; but I suppose this would be more easily found out in Boston than here."

To the Inhabitants of Boston, when confined therein by General Gage.

GENTLEMEN,—The following Lines convey to you the Ideas of a youthfull fancy, concerning your (at present) alarming situation; they pretend to no merit; as an artificial and elaborate Composition they flow from Nature; and if they have slid into an easy harmony, it was accidental; or perhaps altogether owing to your Pathetic Misfortunes.

Those readers only, who can be equally affected with yours, or a similar situation, have a right to judge of the propriety of their Numbers, Diction, and Sentiment.

While public scenes your anxious thoughts employ,
That rob your ardent breasts of heart-felt joy;
While you replace fair justice on her Throne,
And for a Nation's freedom lose your own,
Firm while you stand the Champion of the Laws
And vindicate in Bonds the gen'ral Cause:
Bold behind Virtue's adamantine Shield,
While reason's arms defensively you wield,
And nobly militant for common right,
Stem the land-torrent of oppressive might,
Say, shall th' officious muse invade your time,
And press the soft impertinence of Rhime?
Say, shall she find, O friends, a vacant Hour,
To steal attention from injurious pow'r:
Thro' troops, and guards, to cast her artless Lay,
Or thro' the mighty Fleet, to burst her way?
In gratulation, and condolence say,
Shall she her honorary tribute pay?
"Yes, I will give a pleasing fancy scope,
"And cheer your patriot hearts, with patriot hope;
"For spite of new made Laws, and new made kings,
"The freeborn Muse with lib'ral spirit sings.

O Friends, I view you glowing as I write,
And my warm mind presents thee to my sight:
From my full breast congenial Virtues break,
Flash'd thro' mine Eyes, and burning on my Cheek,
The bright contagion mutual ardor claims,
And all the patriot's fire, the bard inflames.

Let no mean vengeance prompt you to pursue,
Rebell'ous councils, with a selfish view.

By judgement right, by principle be brave;
 And not to others, nor yourselves, enslave.
 By honour urg'd, by spleen oppos'd, proceed,
 And still assert your Theory by Deed;
 America's advancement be your hope,
 And national felicity your scope.
 Not dreading death, if death alone can save,
 Nor fond of life if life will but enslave.
 Ah! let no threats, no penal ills controul,
 The noble purpose of your freeborn soul;
 Prerogative, with natal rights, defend,
 To George, be true, and to his realms a friend.
 Let not branch'd pow'r your purposes confound,
 To each taxation shew the legal bound.
 Let legislature shine with strength and grace,
 Fixt like Paul's temple, on a solid Base.

Is there on Earth a sight to charm the Gods,
 And claim attention from supreme abodes;
 'Tis when the patriot props a falling State,
 And patient, struggles against adverse fate.
 Each honest heart then shares his Heroic Woes,
 Each soul, indignant of his sufferings glows.
 Hardships for men just Providence design'd
 As salutary med'cine for the mind;
 Makes vanquished persecution virtues test,
 And danger prove the wisest and the best,
 Bids round these distend her guardian Wing,
 'Gainst vice oppressive, tho' impotent of sting;
 Adequate mansions and rewards assigns,
 And own no worth, till exercised it shines.

Do ye, like men, altho' by fleets confined,
 Ev'n then enjoy your Liberty of mind,
 Prepar'd to look, piteous of meanness, down,
 On little tyrants while they leer or frown,
 Who dread a Nation, in its dawning ray,
 As evil spirits the approach of Day.
 At honour's wound, at Glory's groan elated,
 Who know of merit, just enough to hate it.
 O! think crush'd virtue more elastic grows,
 And rising 'gainst their weight, o'erturns her foes
 Triumphant from Disgrace she gathers flame,
 And loads the Aggressors with retorted shame;
 Think how the brave, and good, with wisdoms Eyes,
 View vill'ans honour's and their threats despise;
 Lords of themselves in Native greatness reign,
 And unprecious sov'reignty maintain.

JULY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, July 14th, at 11 o'clock, A.M., the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the month.

The President communicated the number for May, 1870, of the "Annales des Voyages," containing a review of Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," by Count Circourt, the donor.

Mr. F. E. Parker was added to the committee on the "Hutchinson Papers," in place of Judge Thomas, who, at his own request, was excused from serving.

Part VI. of "Proceedings," embracing the meetings of April and May, 1870, was announced as on the table.

Mr. ELLIS AMES exhibited the original deed of the town of Attleboro'.

A small pewter medal was presented by Dr. PALFREY; the same which hung round his neck when a youth, at the age of five, at the time of Washington's death, in 1799. On the *obverse* of the medal are the words, —

"He is in glory, the world in tears."

On the *reverse*, —

B. F. 11. 1782, G. A. Arm. '75. R. 83. P. U. S. A. '89 + R. '96. G. Arm. U. S. '98.

Ob. D. 14. 1799.

Dr. GREEN stated that this medal, which was well known to coin-collectors, was designed by Dudley Atkins Tyng, of Newburyport, who was one of the incorporators of this Society, and for nearly forty years a Resident Member.

Mr. W. G. BROOKS exhibited specimens of the coverings taken from the walls of the "Royal House" in Medford. These hangings were of leather, painted with quaint figures of birds,

animals, and other objects. They are said to have been imported from China. The leather was fastened to the walls by small nails.

Mr. AMORY remarked that at that period it was common to fasten the coverings of the walls of houses by nails, as in the old "Collins House" at Danvers.

Mr. BROOKS further stated that the "Royal House," so called, was built by Lieutenant Governor Usher, of whom it was purchased by Colonel Isaac Royal, and enlarged in 1738. The estate then comprised 504 acres, part of which were within the limits of Charlestown. Colonel Royal died in 1739. In a MS. journal in Mr. Brooks' possession, is this entry: "June 17, 1739. Sermon on account of Colonel Isaac Royal's death, by the desire of the remaining family, which desired Mr. Turell to preach a sermon suitable to their condition. The Colonel died Thursday, June 9, at 7 o'clock in the forenoon, and was buried at Medford on Saturday, June 16, and was carried the same night to Dorchester to his marble tomb." The property descended to a son of the same name, who took his title of Colonel. He made it his place of residence until 1776. Proving to be a Tory, and becoming an absentee, the property was confiscated. He went to England, and died there in 1781. The property was held by the State until 1805, and in 1810 it was purchased by Mr. Tidd, a distiller of Boston, who lived upon it; and it has now been purchased of his heirs by a Boston gentleman, to be taken down.

Colonel ASPINWALL said it was occupied as a female seminary, probably while in the possession of the State.

The President called attention to the subscription papers on the table for the "Sewall Diary," and for the volume of "Harvard Graduates," by our associate, Mr. Sibley, the Librarian of Harvard College.

AUGUST MEETING.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 11th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read.

The Librarian read his usual list of donors.

The President read the following paper, giving a *résumé* of the discussion relating to the claim of the State to the "Hutchinson Papers," so called; which was referred to the Committee on the publication of the Proceedings, —

You are all aware, Gentlemen, that the question between this Society and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in regard to what are known as "The Hutchinson Papers," has been referred to a large Special Committee. The gentlemen composing this Committee are abundantly able to deal wisely and justly with the whole subject, and I do not desire to influence their decision in any way. But there are one or two points in the case upon which, as President of the Society, I desire to make such explanations as seem to be called for by statements contained in the Documents which have been printed by the Legislature.

Let me say, at the outset, that I have thus far had little or no part in the proceedings on this vexed question. When Dr. Palfrey, as Secretary of the Commonwealth, addressed the Society on the subject of these Papers, I was a member of Congress, and absent from the State. Mr. Savage was then President of the Society; and though I had been a member for many years, I was not often in the way of attending its meetings, or of taking special note of its proceedings. And again, in 1868, when Governor Bullock addressed the Society on the subject, it happened that I was in Europe, and the whole correspondence had been concluded before my return home.

These circumstances will sufficiently account for my having taken no part in the controversy which has so long been pending.

I find, however, that in the Memorial of Mr. David Pulsifer, which is printed in the Legislative Document, a note of mine appears, dated 28 April, 1859, which seems to have given occasion to some extraordinary inferences. That note was written, as I find on reference to my diary, just as I was leaving home to meet some literary engagements in Baltimore and Richmond. I am not sure that I could have said more, had I been less hurried in preparing it. But Mr. Pulsifer sets forth in his Memorial, that the "effect" of the note "was to deprive your memorialist of the use" of these Papers, "which would have been of great benefit while printing the Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies," &c.; and the Hon. Mr. Noyes, in his Report on the subject, in 1867, deriving his misapprehension undoubtedly from Mr. Pulsifer's statement, says that our Society "refuse an Officer of the Commonwealth," "when appointed to complete its early records, access to their information"; adding that these Papers, "in the custody of the Historical Society, are closed to those who may desire their perusal."

It requires but a glance at my note, to see how utterly groundless such allegations are. That note, after stating that our rules in regard to Manuscript volumes are peremptory and unchangeable, so far certainly as any discretion of the Officers of the Society may reach, went on to state explicitly that the Society had granted leave for Mr. Pulsifer to obtain any thing he might desire in the way prescribed by the rules, and to refer him to the then Chairman of our Standing Committee (Gov. Washburn), and to our Corresponding and Recording Secretaries (Dr. Chandler Robbins and Mr. Deane), for more particular information.

I know not whether application was made to either of those gentlemen at the time; but, if so, they must have informed

him precisely how he could procure access to the Papers, and copy whatever was necessary for the purposes of his application.

I may say, however, that I had the best reason for knowing that Mr. Pulsifer himself was not unfamiliar with these Papers, and with our rules, as I had been previously indebted to him for copying one of the "Hutchinson Papers" for myself. I might have considered it, on this account, less important to enter into details in my own note, even had I been more at leisure. I may add, too, that I have no remembrance that Mr. Pulsifer stated in his application that he was acting for the Commonwealth. He has not taken the pains to print his part of the correspondence, and I am not sure that his note to me is preserved. But my impression is that he applied in his individual capacity. At any rate, his note was laid before the Society, and I replied immediately after their adjournment, and agreeably to their instructions.

If, therefore, there was any failure on the part of Mr. Pulsifer to obtain whatever there was in the "Hutchinson Papers," for the benefit of the publication on which he was engaged by the State, it was clearly the result of his own unwillingness to comply with the rules which have been established by our Society, for the security of the Papers which have been intrusted to their keeping. Had the Society adopted less stringent rules originally, and allowed their autograph manuscripts to be taken out and used by all who might desire to do so, it may be at least doubtful whether, by this time, there would have been any "Hutchinson Papers" left, to furnish the subject of this vexatious controversy.

The rules of our Society were framed and adopted by those who understood the value of ancient manuscripts, and the danger of submitting them to indiscriminate and unrestricted use. And, although it may not be inexpedient to modify those rules in some particulars, for the greater convenience of historical students, we can never be justified in exposing

our treasures to any risk which we have the power to guard against.

I am thus brought to a few general remarks upon the precise question before us. Here are certain Papers which have been in possession of this Society for a long time; some of them for half a century, and others of them for a much longer period. Of the persons who were members of the Society at the time when even the most recently received of these Papers were presented to it, but one is among the living, — our venerable Ex-President, whose infirmities have long deprived us of his co-operation and counsel. Every other member is of later election than 1820. Only two were chosen before 1840. We have succeeded to the custody of whatever books or papers were transmitted to us, and we hold them in sacred trust. We are bound, I think, to guard jealously whatever we have received. We have no right to surrender, upon whatever demand, any thing which has rightfully been committed to our keeping. And after such a length of possession, in default of any positive proof that such possession is wrongful, we owe it to our predecessors, as well as to ourselves and to those who shall succeed us, to challenge peremptorily any claim which may be made upon our possessions.

It appears by our own records, — which afford almost all the evidence there is on the subject, — that certain "letters, found among the papers of Governor Hutchinson, and communicated by Mr. Bradford," were referred to the Publishing Committee of this Society, on the 28th of October, 1819; and that on the 27th of January, 1820, some "additional letters, found by Mr. Secretary Bradford among the papers of Governor Hutchinson, and presented to the Society by permission of the Governor and Council," were referred to the same Committee.

The letter of Mr. Bradford is also found, which accompanied these last letters, and in which he says, "I have obtained leave of the Council to present them to the Society. They are no part of the files of the Secretary's office."

Two more parcels were subsequently received from the same source.

Now the Hon. Alden Bradford was a man of scrupulous personal and official integrity. He was a man not less likely to have taken pride in preserving the archives of the Commonwealth than any of his successors. He knew what these Papers were; where they came from; and to whom they belonged. His whole letter is to be taken together; and he says distinctly, and as if he foresaw that a question might arise in future, "They are no part of the files of the Secretary's office." How they had come into his hands he does not say; but feeling some doubt as to their disposition, he takes the advice of the Council, and says that he had obtained their leave to present them to this Society.

No one can read these records and this letter without acknowledging that, so far as this Society is concerned, there is no shadow of indirection in the manner in which these Papers came into our possession; and that the whole responsibility for their coming to us at all must rest upon the Secretary of the Commonwealth and the Council of that day.

It would seem, however, from a Document very recently brought to light, that at least the silent assent of the Legislature itself was not wanting to our original possession of these Papers. I refer to a Report of Secretary Bradford to the Legislature, dated 17 April, 1821, and made in compliance with a call from the House of Representatives for a statement of "the condition of the public records and documents belonging to the Commonwealth," in which the following passage occurs: —

"Several files of papers saved from the riot at Gov. Hutchinson's house: some of them of a private nature and some of them public documents collected by him probably as materials for his History of Massachusetts and a volume of State Papers which he had published. These not being considered as belonging to y^e Government, or as any part of the records of y^e Commonwealth, or ancient colony or Province, *some*

of them, valuable chiefly for their antiquity, were selected by the undersigned, with the consent and approbation of the Supreme Executive, and deposited in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a list of them being first made and kept in the Secretary's office."

Here again we find Secretary Bradford distinctly setting forth, that the Papers which, according to our records and to his own letter to our Secretary, he had "presented" to our Society, were "not considered as belonging to the Government, or as any part of the records of the Commonwealth, or ancient Colony or Province," and that they had been deposited in our library "with the consent and approbation of the Supreme Executive."

In that Report the Legislature acquiesced, and thus gave their virtual sanction to what had been done. Secretary Bradford evidently so understood it, as he presented the last parcel of these papers to our Society more than two years after his Report was dated; * and on this occasion we hear nothing of any list being made or kept.

At any rate, in our possession these Papers remained, unclaimed and unchallenged, for twenty-six years, and were dealt with in the same way with all our other papers. With other papers, they were classified and bound up; and it remains to be seen whether any one can tell at this hour the precise pieces, in the various volumes labelled "Hutchinson Papers," which were thus presented to us by Mr. Bradford. The list of them contained in his letter cannot be found on our own files, nor can that referred to in his Report, as I understand, be found on the files of the Commonwealth.

If, as has been suggested, this presentation was only intended as a temporary and technical deposit, liable to recall, the list ought certainly to have been carefully kept by the depositor, with some receipt, or acknowledgment, or promise to restore on demand, from our Society. No such thing, however, is forthcoming; nor is there the slightest reason for thinking

* This last presentation was on the 26th of August, 1828.

that any such receipt or promise was ever exacted or contemplated. The words "deposited" and "presented" seem to have been employed indifferently by Mr. Bradford in regard to the gift; unless, perhaps, he may have hesitated to repeat the word "presented" in relation to Papers, which he so distinctly says were "not considered as belonging to the Government." There is certainly nothing to indicate or imply that the idea of a temporary and technical deposit was in the mind of Mr. Secretary Bradford, or of the Governor and Council, or of the Legislature to whom the Report was made, or of this Society, when the Papers were presented to them.

No claim or suggestion of this sort, indeed, was ever made until January, 1846, when Dr. Palfrey, then Secretary of the Commonwealth, first addressed the Society on the subject. A second communication from him was received in January, 1847; and a third, in July, of the same year.

These various communications of Dr. Palfrey seem never to have been directly answered; but they were the subject of an elaborate Report to the Society, signed by five of our members (three of them now dead), whose names alone are a sufficient guaranty of the ability and scrupulous integrity which they brought to the investigation of the case.

Not to mention the living,* it is enough to say that the late Hon. Francis C. Gray, the late Hon. Nathan Appleton, and the late Rev. Dr. Alexander Young, would have been trusted by the whole community in which they lived, as umpires, without reserve or recourse, on any question which had been referred to them.

Their conclusion was that "the State had not a shadow of a claim to the whole three volumes"; and that, "considering the long lapse of time, the death of the agent (Mr. Bradford) employed in the transaction, and the other circumstances of the case, it was the duty of the Society to set up the statute

* The Rev. Geo. W. Blagden, D.D., and the Hon. P. W. Chandler, were the other members.

of limitations against any claim to them from any quarter." "This, indeed," they said in conclusion, "is one of those cases for which that beneficent statute was mainly intended to provide, and which eminently prove its equity and wisdom."

Nathan Appleton and Francis C. Gray were the last men in the land who would have set up the statute of limitations as a bar to a claim which they regarded as reasonable, or founded in justice or equity.

They are men, let me add, whose deliberate judgment this Society would be, and should be, slow to set aside. Certainly, in any review of their judgment, even if we finally saw grounds for acting in opposition to it, we should feel bound to vindicate their memories from any imputation of unfairness. I cannot forget the deep sense of the injustice of this claim which was expressed to me personally by one of them (Mr. Gray), while he was on a lingering death-bed, and how earnestly he enjoined upon me that it should be steadfastly resisted.

After this Report, we hear nothing more for another period of nearly twenty years. And now, for the first time, the legislative authority is invoked against us. In 1867, the preliminary action was taken by the Legislature, which, after repeated hearings before Committees, at which our case was ably set forth by the Rev. Dr. Ellis, Governor Washburn, and Professor Parker, has at last resulted in a peremptory Order, that the Attorney-General of Massachusetts should proceed, by suit in law or in equity, to recover the books and papers in our possession belonging to the Commonwealth.

It will be borne in mind that no legislative demand has ever before been made upon this Society. Dr. Palfrey's letters in 1846 and 1847, though dated from the Secretary's office, and dictated, undoubtedly, by a sense of official duty, were on his own sole responsibility. He had not even the authority of the Council for demanding the Papers, as his predecessor had for presenting them.

The letter of Governor Bullock, in 1868, was only one

asking for information; and, after receiving the reply of our Committee, he merely recommended to the Legislature to refer the subject to a Committee of Inquiry, with power to send for persons and papers.

The first formal demand of the Legislature has thus come in the shape of an Order to the Attorney-General to prosecute our Society; although our Society, through their Committee, had already so far waived their absolute claim, as to offer to unite with the Commonwealth in submitting the case to impartial arbitration, and although such a reference had been recommended and provided for in the Report of "the Joint Special Judiciary Committee" to whom the whole matter was last referred.

In view of the fact that this Society is the oldest historical society in our land; that it has devoted itself for three-quarters of a century to collecting and publishing whatever could illustrate the history of the Commonwealth, and has already published more than forty volumes of invaluable material for this purpose; and that no individual member of the Society has any interest to retain these Papers from the possession of the Commonwealth, except so far as it is our duty to guard sacredly what we have rightfully received, — such a step seems as little in keeping with the character of the Commonwealth, as it is with the character of our Society.

I venture to hope, however, that we shall maintain our equanimity, and even our magnanimity, in spite of such provocations; and that, while we make ready to defend our rights and our good name in any action which may be commenced against us, we may yet hold ourselves open to accept any overtures of arrangement or arbitration, if any should be made, even though the offers of our Committee to that effect were disregarded.

It will be time enough, however, for the Society to decide that question when such a proposition shall be made to us.

Meantime, we may console ourselves with the reflection, that

there is really but little intrinsic importance in the question whether the three bound volumes, which have been labelled "Hutchinson Papers," or any part of them, shall remain in our possession, as they have done for half a century past, or whether they shall be surrendered to the custody of the State. The most interesting of them have already been printed, and the rest of them have been copied. In what hands the autograph originals shall remain, is certainly not a matter of very great moment.

But we owe it to ourselves, and to those who have gone before us, to vindicate the character of our Society from unjust imputations, and to create no precedent by which we may be stripped of the historical treasures which have been committed to our care by those no longer living to bear testimony to the rightfulness of our possession.

The President also read a letter, printed below, from Daniel Clark, Secretary of the Assistants of the Colony of Connecticut, to John Winthrop, Jr., in London, on the receipt of the Connecticut Charter.

WINDSOR, Nov^r 17. 1662.

RIGHT WORth — The sedulous and indefatigable paines and travailes that yo^r worth haue spent in y^e occasions of this poor Colony we now can certainly affirme haue bene seconded wth memorable issues and effects, through the concurrence of diuine providence and benediction to y^e great reioyceing of the hearts of yo^r friends and servants the members of this Corporation. And we can doe noe less then with all readines of spirit returne o^r acknowledgment thereof wth all respectiue gratulations to yo^r Worth. We haue receaued the Chart^r, the duplicate and the old Coppy of y^e former Charter, well approued and liked by all. And o^r great care hath bene to effect y^e payment according to yo^r order w^{ch} we doubt not wilbe issued to satisfaction by o^r time; the Riu^r haueing sent away their proportion and all parts willing and ready to pforme, though troublesom at this season of the yeare to thrash. Our earnest expectation and longing desire is to see yo^r presence amongst vs and to enioy yo^r helpfulnes in the place that Gods providence hath called Yo^r Worth vnto in point of Gouvern^t being chosen Gouverno^r for this Yeare to Conecticut Col: or Corporat:

Honord M^{rs} Winthrop wth y^e rest of yo^r family are in health now resideing at Hartford. M^r Stone hath lately accompanied M^{rs} Winthrop to N: London to y^e Ship y^e is to receaue the Corne, and both returned back well and in p^rsent health wth y^e rest of yo^r freinds here. We hope there wilbe a Loving concurrence and Accomodation twixt o^r selues and N: Hauen. Long Island freely and chearfully submit. Westchest^r, Greenwich, Stanford, submit and y^e rest we doubt not. The Assistants w^h an vnanimous consent p^rsent their Cordiall respects to yo^r Wor^{sh}? earnestly beseeching yo^r speedy returne, still desireing to be mindfull of yo^r Self and yo^r affaires in o^r prayers.

Subscribeing: Yo^r freinds & Servants The Assistants of Con: Collo: by their order Subscribed.

D DANIEL CLARK Sec^r

Indorsed, —

Letter from Secretary Clarke in the name of the court, to 1st Gov^r. Winthrop of Connecticutt on Receiving their Charter.

Nov^r. 27th 1662.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, September 8th, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the past month.

Hon. Charles J. Hoadly, of Hartford, Librarian of the State of Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. PAIGE read the following paper:—

The reference, at a recent meeting, to the doubts sometimes expressed, whether any person, in modern times, has attained the full age of a hundred years, induces me to record one well-authenticated example.

Mrs. Mercy Paige, daughter of James and Mercy Aiken, and widow of Deacon William Paige, was born in Brookfield, 8 January, 1721; and died in Hardwick, 19 February, 1823, aged one hundred and two years, one month, and five days,

allowing the eleven days difference in style. I was present at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of her birth ; I resided near her for the first twenty years of my life : I was personally acquainted with her, with several of her children, and with many aged people who had long been her associates ; and I never heard a doubt mentioned concerning her age or parentage. But, in order to attain more absolute certainty, I examined the Town Records of Brookfield, where her birth is recorded thus : " Marcy Ekins, daughter of James and Marcy, born January y^e 3^d 17³⁰₂¹." By the Church Records of Hardwick, it appears that William Paige and Mercy Aikens were married 11 January, 174⁴₄. The death is recorded on both the Town and the Church Records of Hardwick.

It may be suggested that the child born 3 January, 1721, died young ; and that a second child of the same name, born six or eight years afterwards, would have been marriageable in 1744. To this suggestion there are two sufficient answers. (1) Her father, James Aiken, was one of the pioneers, and commenced cultivating a farm in Hardwick (then called Lambstown) in 1733, while the place was a wilderness. His family remained at Brookfield a few months. Meantime this daughter several times rode on horseback, and alone, ten miles through the pathless forests, guided by marked trees, to convey a weekly supply of provisions to her father. Such was her own statement, and such the undisputed tradition. We can scarcely suppose that such a task was performed by a girl much less than twelve years old. (2) She was admitted as a member of the Church in Hardwick, 6 December, 1736, before she was sixteen years old. To suppose her half a dozen years younger would be inconsistent with the usual practice of Churches at that period. It cannot be supposed that this record has reference to her mother, who bore the same name ; for it is duly recorded that " Mercy, wife of James Aikens," was admitted 29 May, 1737, on recommendation of the Church of which she was formerly a member.

If any reliance can be placed on records, in connection and in agreement with common tradition, there can be no reasonable doubt that this venerable lady lived more than two years beyond a full century, and was a member of the Church in full communion more than eighty-six years.

Professor LOWELL referred to the well-known cases of four centenarians, graduates of Harvard College, noticed in the Proceedings for August, 1865, pp. 439, 440.

Mr. DEANE read the communication which follows, from our associate, Mr. Waterston, dated at San Francisco, California :

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, August 29th, 1870.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq.,

Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR, — Just before leaving home, I received from you a copy of the vote of the Historical Society requesting me to represent that body on any appropriate occasion which might occur on the Pacific Coast.* If I have not duly acknowledged this favor, permit me now to do so.

Coming as I did, in company with the Board of Trade, by the first railroad train passing directly across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific; climbing the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada; leaving in our swift passage prairies and plains and the Great Desert behind us; and at length descending the Pacific Slope, and stepping out of the identical cars we had entered in Boston in the very heart of the city of San Francisco, — this might in itself be considered an historical event. The fact also that we were officially received by the governors of nearly all the Western States through which we passed, and that every mark of respect was extended, both on our way and when we arrived in California, imparted a certain dignity to the event, serving to strengthen those ties of sympathy and good-will which should ever exist between the most distant portions of our common country.

The aspects of Nature on this side of the Rocky Mountains are often

* See "Proceedings" for May last, p. 309. — Eds.

upon a grand and impressive scale. Now, we behold scenes of wild magnificence; and now, of rich fertility.

Moreover, the methods of Nature are here often strange and startling. The seasons, the soil, the climate, the vegetation, are different from what is to be found elsewhere.

The extraordinary abundance of mineral wealth is another well-known characteristic; at times delusive, but often wonderfully prolific, having actually yielded over eight hundred millions of dollars in gold within a few years.

But the most astonishing fact of all is the unexampled growth of this community.

Twenty-five years ago, California was scarcely inhabited, and almost unexplored. Now, it is widely cultivated, and sprinkled thick with thriving villages and populous cities. San Francisco itself, which only twenty years ago was nothing but a sand-bank, has now a population of over one hundred and fifty thousand, with stately and elegant churches, colleges, school-edifices, splendid hotels, spacious halls, and structures in wood, brick, and stone, of every description. More than forty ocean-steamers regularly enter and depart from its superb harbor, upon whose waters thousands of sailing vessels constantly float, uniting this city with every port on the globe.

The foreign imports, in 1868, were over fifteen millions of dollars; while the merchandise exports, the same year, were twenty-three millions, more than seventeen millions of which were of domestic products.

The rapidity of growth has been amazing; but, with so limited an experience, it has little of what is generally understood to be History. Many of the citizens carry its whole career in their personal memory. I have heard, from one and another, reminiscences embracing the time when men first landed here, and had no other place of abode than tents; while some had not even such shelter. Yes, men now in the prime of life will speak of this as their own experience. Still, young as the country is, there are here and there threads of tradition, reaching back to an earlier time.

Among the oldest monuments connecting this region with a past period are the "Old Missions." Several of the churches and chapels yet stand, which were erected a hundred years ago by the Missionary pioneers, Spanish and Mexican, who labored among the Indian tribes of California. These are quaint buildings, built rudely of clay and stone, — adorned with ancient paintings brought doubtless in many instances

from Spain, with images of apostles and saints, — looking now much as they did when they awakened the wonder of the Indian tribes. The first important efforts towards civilization on this shore were made by the Jesuits, after which the Missions were transferred to the Order of St. Francis. The Jesuits labored in Lower California, and never in Upper California. The former were banished from power by the Spanish government in 1767. After this, Father Junipero, of the Franciscan Order, carried the work into Upper California. The lands were held by grant of the Spanish government. The Missions were subordinate to the civil authority; still, for all practical purposes, their control was nearly supreme. Their domain extended from San Diego to San Francisco, with immense territory, and large herds and flocks. The Missions were established at intervals of twenty and thirty miles, the boundary of one uniting with that of another, so that the whole coast was under their jurisdiction. The natives were compelled to work in their service. In connection with the Missions were forts called "Presidios," which served for their protection; and the towns (such as they were), called "Pueblos." Outside the Missions the government was purely military. Thousands of Indians were domesticated around these Missions, the Fathers living in patriarchal state, with vast numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, — some of the Missions possessing from sixty to seventy thousand head of cattle.

The overthrow of the Spanish dominion in Mexico brought an end to the power and prosperity of these Missions. Not one was founded after that event. In 1826 a law was passed, depriving the Fathers of their lands, and also of the labor of the Indians; from which time their position and influence have rapidly dwindled away.

The first Mission I visited was that of San Francisco, — the Mission "Dolores." The edifice still stands, which was erected in 1776, seven years after the Bay of Francisco had received its name. It stands — a simple structure — on the side of a hill, which shelters it from the ocean winds. The three old bells, which have been there from the beginning, still hang in the belfries, and are rung at stated times. Various old volumes of Spanish manuscripts, covered with sheepskin and having buckskin clasps, yet remain there; together with some six hundred volumes in Spanish print. There are also some very ancient paintings and carvings, brought from abroad, which recall strangely a former day. A school is taught here, and religious services are regularly held. Some of the old "*adobe*" buildings (as the

sun-burnt clay used for building these structures is called) still stand. These were inhabited by the Indians. Near by is the old graveyard; I read the various inscriptions, but I saw none worthy of special note.

I have visited also the old Missions of San José and Santa Clara, about fifty-five miles from San Francisco. These two are united by a shady avenue of willows and poplars, thoughtfully planted by the old *padres*. The avenue is three miles in length. As we walked under the refreshing shadow of these venerable trees (recalling the Almadas of Spain), and heard the chime of the old bells which in former times had gathered the simple aborigines together, we could not but be impressed with the astonishing changes which had taken place.

It is very remarkable to what an extent the Indians have disappeared. In and about San Francisco, for a distance of fifty miles, I have not seen one. The same has been my experience at San José and at Santa Clara; also in crossing the Coast Range to Santa Cruz. In visiting the mammoth trees at the Mariposa Grove, we saw a few Indians, as we did also in the Yo-Semite Valley. Here I conversed with the Indian who served as a guide when the whites first entered the valley, at which time the tribe (having committed many depredations) were driven out. The Indians now residing in this region are harmless and peaceable. There are two tribes, — the Mono and the Pono Indians. I visited them in their rude wigwams, where I saw them pounding acorns which they had gathered for food, upon a rock; and these I saw them boil by throwing hot stones into the water, precisely as was done when the white man first came to this shore. They use implements of stone, similar to those used by the Indians on our own coast when the Pilgrims landed; and I saw arrow-heads made of flint, very symmetrical, some of which I obtained.

But, in an historical point of view, perhaps the most interesting fact of all is this: that in San Francisco exist the original Spanish Archives, in which the whole early history of this part of the country may be traced. When our government took possession of the country, these papers came into its hands. They were concealed at first at Los Angeles; at length they were obtained and brought to Monterey. They were placed, in 1851, by the United-States government, under the charge of the surveyor-general. In 1858, the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton came officially to this place, and found the papers disarranged, and more than one half (now in this collection) were still in other parts of the country. By his influence and under his oversight, they were brought together, collated, systematically arranged, and sub-

stantially bound. Thus to his forethought, the country is greatly indebted that these Spanish and Mexican Archives are in their present admirable condition, and available for study and reference.

They are comprised in about one thousand volumes, — six hundred volumes, chiefly in manuscript, relating to grants of land; and in addition, some three hundred quarto volumes, averaging eight hundred pages each, containing in manuscript, in the original draft, or in the original form: —

First. The Royal Decrees, as they came from the Spanish government. These are signed, — “YO EL REY:” *I the King.*

Second. Official orders and correspondence of Viceroy's of Mexico.

Third. The official correspondence of the Governors of the Province with various subordinate authorities, extending from 1775 down to 1844.

Fourth. Records and correspondence relating to Missions, Presidios, and Pueblos; with the government and management of the same.

Fifth. Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical Records, together with Legislative and Judicial Proceedings; many of which are exceedingly curious.

Sixth. Miscellaneous Records, containing the daily domestic history of that time; often throwing light upon the past condition of things, the motives and views which were cherished, with the manners and customs of the people.

Seventh. A valuable correspondence by navigators of different nations, in as many as ten languages, — documents dating as far back as 1767. Some of these, written elsewhere, antedate the first settlement of the country. These papers contain the history of the coast, from Cape Horn to Columbia River, embracing a hundred years. Here are manuscripts relating to Vancouver (dated 1795); also to the celebrated voyage of Captain Cook, together with accounts of Russian Admirals, English Captains, and French Explorers.

As early as 1788, statements begin to be made of BOSTON Traders. There is reason to believe that not one vessel has come here of which there is not some authentic record, particularly if the crew or officers have landed. It is an undeniable fact that from the commencement of the century, for twenty-five years, by far the larger number of vessels arriving here were from BOSTON. This made such an impression upon the Indians, that, even to this day, they call all Americans “BOSTONS!” A large business, it was well known, was early carried on in furs (commencing as early as 1790). In 1784, John

Ledyard (of whom an interesting Memoir was written by President Sparks), having visited the Pacific in company with Captain Cook, communicated important information to Thomas Jefferson (then, I think, in Paris) respecting this region; after which, he was induced to return to make additional explorations, at which time he was arrested.

The enterprise, courage, and determination of the Yankee traders, at a very early day, awakened the suspicion and jealousy of the Spanish government. The authorities of the Province were constantly admonished to watch them closely, and to prevent any encroachment. The Spaniards seemed to have an instinctive dread of that intellectual and physical force which was destined to make itself so powerfully felt upon this coast at a later day. Therefore every movement was watched with constant vigilance, and no one was allowed to gain any footing if by any possibility it could be prevented.

In 1792, Captain Robert Gray, in the ship "Columbia" from Boston, discovered the Columbia River, which was named after his ship. (I send with this the translation of a letter, with orders respecting this vessel,* in which are various mistakes,—as that the vessel was owned by General Washington, &c.)

Mention is made, I am told by the Keeper of the Archives, of Captain William Sturgis, our late fellow-townsmen and associate, who early came to this coast, and drew up a paper on the subject for the Historical Society.

The name also, I believe, of Captain Thompson occurs as that of the master of the "Alert," the vessel in which Richard H. Dana, Jr., first visited this place; and by the account of his experience, in the "Two Years before the Mast," has justly caused his name to be forever associated with this coast.

Mention is made in 1810 of the ship "Albatross," which arrived from Boston with a company of hunters and trappers; and there is an account also of the burning of the ship "Boston" in 1803, when a party of Indians asked to come on board, and in a friendly spirit danced upon the deck. Bringing with them concealed weapons, at a given signal they murdered the whole crew except two, who escaped, hiding themselves until the next year, when another ship arrived. The account is here recorded as it was given by the survivors at that time.

* This was during her first visit to this coast, under the command of Captain John Kendrick. She sailed from Boston on the 30th of September, 1787, arrived on the coast in September 1789, and remained there one year, trading with the natives. — EDS.

Mr. R. C. Hopkins, the Keeper of the Archives, has most courteously offered me every facility for examining these papers. He has also promised to look over the volumes, and make extracts of passages which may be of special interest with us, and to translate any papers which may be desirable.

Should any member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, or the Society itself, desire any portion of these Records to be examined, or a copy made, respecting any statements of vessels arriving upon this coast, from the commencement of the century or somewhat earlier, Mr. Hopkins assures me he will, with pleasure, see that it is faithfully done.

There is certainly ample material among these manuscripts for the antiquary and the historian. There are pages over which the scholar and the statesman may ponder. The blind policy of the Spanish government, and the illiberal spirit of Spanish America, brought with it weakness and self-destruction.

Each step which led to the final downfall may be traced in these Records; while the beneficial results of Republican principles, with their expanding power, constantly developing new enterprise, may be witnessed on every side in what is transpiring to-day.

I feel sure that the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society will rejoice not only in the present prosperity of this remarkable portion of our country, but that they will appreciate the faithful care which has so considerately preserved these Records, placing them under watchful guardianship, and seeking to make them available, as far as possible, for the general good.

With the highest respect, most truly yours,

R. C. WATERSTON.

P. S. — The first allusion to an American ship in the Archives of California is in a letter by the Governor of the Province, Don Pedro Fages, — dated May, 1789, — to Don Josef Arguello, Captain of the Presidio of San Francisco.

"RESERVADA."

"*Siempre que arrive á ese Puerto de S^a Fran^{ca}," &c.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

Whenever there may arrive at the Port of San Francisco a Ship named the Columbia,* said to belong to General Washington [Gral Wanghenton] of the

* In company with the "Columbia" was the "Washington," a vessel of one hundred tons' burden, commanded by Capt. Robert Gray; who, in 1792, as I have already said, was master of the "Columbia" herself. (Sparks's Life of Ledyard, p. 183.)

American States, under command of John Kendrick, which sailed from Boston in Sept 1787, bound on a voyage of Discovery & of Examination of the Russian Establishments on the Northern Coast of this Peninsula, you will cause said vessel to be secured together with her officers and crew, directing that discretion and care be used in performing this duty, using in the execution of the same the small boat which you have in your possession, and doing the same with every other suspicious foreign vessel, giving me prompt notice of the same.

May God preserve your life many years.

PEDRO FAGES.

SANTA BARBARA

May 13th 1789.

TO JOSEF ARGUELLO.

The "Columbia" was the first ship which sailed up the Columbia River, and from her the river received its name. This was in 1791.

The President, referring to the death of our Corresponding Member, the Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy, spoke as follows:—

It is with no little personal sorrow that I announce the death of my cherished friend, the Honorable JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY, who was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1858. I am sure the Society will indulge me, this morning, in dwelling at some length on the character and career of one, who had far higher claims than any friendship or affection of mine could give him to the regard and respect of his contemporaries.

Mr. Kennedy was born on the 25th of October, 1795, in the city of Baltimore; where his father, of Irish origin, who died early, was then a prosperous merchant. His mother, who lived to see her son — and he was her eldest — at the height of his reputation as an author and statesman, was a daughter of Philip Pendleton, of Berkeley County, Virginia, of a family distinguished by the virtues and accomplishments of more than one of its members. Graduated at Baltimore College in 1812, he soon selected the law as his profession. But our war with England was just then at its commencement; and his pursuits were interrupted by the excitements of the period,

and by the perils to which his native city was peculiarly exposed. With his friend, the late Mr. George Peabody, he volunteered and served as a private at the battles of Bladensburg and North Point; and with him, not many years ago, received from the United States the bounty land awarded to that service.

Admitted to the Baltimore Bar in 1816, he practised with success for several years, at a period when that Bar was adorned by such men as William Pinkney and William Wirt and the late Chief-Justice Taney; with more than one of whom he was sometimes associated as junior counsel in important causes, and with all of whom he was on terms of personal friendship. His taste for literary life, however, soon came in conflict with that for legal studies; and as early as 1818 he had become joint editor, with his accomplished friend, the late Peter Hoffman Cruse, of a little fortnightly serial, in prose and verse, under the title of "The Red Book." This little work was continued for two or three years, and its contents subsequently collected into two volumes.

And now the attractions of political service and public employment threatened to draw him away both from literature and from law. He was induced to take an active part in the Presidential campaign of 1820; and in the same year was elected a member of the House of Delegates of Maryland. In that body he rendered conspicuous service for several years; a part of the time as Speaker, and always as an intelligent and earnest advocate of measures for improving the financial condition and restoring the credit of the State.

In 1823, he accepted an appointment from President Monroe, as Secretary of our Legation to Chili; and I have heard him describe most humorously his first interview with the late John Quincy Adams,—then Secretary of State, of whom in later years he enjoyed the intimate acquaintance

and friendship, — when he called on Mr. Adams at the State Department for his instructions, preparatory to embarking for his post. "Instructions!" said Mr. Adams. "The only instructions I have to give you at present are these;" and reaching up, with the aid of a chair, to a high shelf, or pigeon-hole, in his bookcase, he handed him a carefully prepared description and drawing of the uniform which our Legations abroad were then required to wear, — not yet discarded as inconsistent with Republican principles, — and told him to provide himself accordingly. Mr. Kennedy's youthful aspirations for diplomacy were not stimulated, or altogether satisfied, by this view of what was expected of him; and, before it was too late, he obtained leave to resign the appointment.

His interest in public affairs, however, continued unabated; and, in the intervals of professional labor, he prepared and published a number of political essays, which attracted a wide and marked attention. Having warmly espoused the views of Henry Clay (of whom not long afterwards he became one of the most trusted and valued friends) on the subject of American Industry, he wrote and printed, in 1830, an elaborate and masterly reply to Mr. Cambreleng's memorable Report on Commerce and Navigation, which had a general circulation throughout the country; and in the following year he rendered eminent service, by tongue and pen, at a National Convention of the friends of Manufacturing Industry, held in the City of New York.

But it soon appeared that his more purely literary labors had by no means been abandoned or suspended, and that he was destined to make no common mark — for that period, certainly — in a line of literature in which our own honored Founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, had led the way in 1792, by his American tale, "The Foresters"; and in which Charles Brockden Brown and Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper had since been so conspicuous.

In 1832, Mr. Kennedy published his first novel, under the

name of "Swallow Barn, or a Sojourn in the Old Dominion"; a work which produced a decided impression, and which received high commendations from the pen of Edward Everett, in the "North American Review," the only vehicle at that time of well-considered literary criticism in our part of the country. Its sketches of Virginia life and manners, including a very notable chapter on Slavery, entitled "The Quarter," furnish the best picture we have even now of that section of the Union at the period to which they relate, and possess not a little of historical interest and permanent value. This, too, may be said, even more emphatically, of his second novel, "Horse-Shoe Robinson, a Tale of the Tory Ascendency," published in 1835; of which the scene was laid in the Carolinas, during our Revolutionary struggle, and of which the hero was drawn from the life,—the incidents of his remarkable career having been derived from his own lips by Mr. Kennedy himself, while he was residing at the South for the benefit of his health, in 1819.

A third novel, "Rob of the Bowl; a Legend of St. Inigoes," in which there is much historical matter connected with the religious commotions in Maryland, in the time of the second Lord Baltimore, was published by him in 1838; and in 1840 he produced, in a fourth volume, under the title of "The Annals of Quodlibet," a humorous and satirical account of the Presidential campaign in which he was at that moment a prominent actor, with an almost dramatic presentment, under fictitious names, of scenes which had actually occurred within the range of his own observation and experience.

Mr. Kennedy had now, however, become a member of Congress, having been chosen as one of the Representatives of the Baltimore District in 1838, and having been re-elected in 1841 and 1843. His services at Washington were of the highest value and importance; and particularly those which he rendered as Chairman of the Committee on Commerce in the Twenty-seventh Congress. Having been associated with him

as his second on that Committee, as well as in the intimacies of a common table and of apartments under a common roof, I can bear personal testimony to the diligence and ability which he brought to the public business. His Reports on subjects connected with our Commercial System, and particularly on our proposed Reciprocity Treaties, were elaborate and exhaustive; and his speeches were forcible and eloquent. I cannot forget that we were together, too, on that Committee, when, not without hesitation and distrust, the first appropriation was reported to enable Mr. Morse to try the experiment, between Washington and Baltimore, of that Magnetic Telegraph, which now covers our continent, and encircles the earth. Though the Report was written and presented by another hand, it owed much of its success, both in Committee and in the House, to the earnest support of Mr. Kennedy.

In 1844, he published a very striking little volume, called "A Defence of the Whigs," which became almost a hand-book of politicians, and which contains an admirable vindication of the party with which he was always connected as long as it existed. But that party had but a precarious and fitful supremacy in Baltimore; and at the next election, in 1845, he failed of a majority, and was never again returned to Congress. The following year, however, found him again in the Chair of the House of Delegates at Annapolis, having been elected once more to the Legislature of Maryland, after an interval of five and twenty years, with a view to an important juncture in the affairs of his native State.

This service rendered, Mr. Kennedy once more quietly resumed his literary labors; and, as the result of them, published, in 1849, an excellent biography, in two octavo volumes, of the eminent lawyer and statesman, William Wirt, — one of the purest and best of the public men of his day, upon whom Mr. Kennedy had delivered a Eulogy, immediately after his death, in 1834. This work — in which the author sedu-

lously avoided all personal display, and allowed Mr. Wirt to exhibit himself to the best advantage in his own brilliant public addresses and lively familiar correspondence — was recognized everywhere as a valuable contribution to American Biography, and to the history of the times; and no better book of its kind could have been placed in the hands of the young men of the United States, to whom it was dedicated.

Meantime and previously, Mr. Kennedy had delivered not a few occasional Discourses, mostly of an historical character: one, in 1835, before the American Institute of New York; another, in the same year, before the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the University of Maryland, in which he had been appointed Professor of History, and of which he was the Provost for many years before his death; and a third, in 1845, before the Maryland Historical Society, of which he was Vice-President, on the Life and Character of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, which involved him in a sharp controversy with several of the Roman Catholics of Maryland, to whom he made an elaborate rejoinder, exhibiting great ability and research. His Address, too, before the Maryland Institute, in 1851, published with engraved illustrations of the old town of Baltimore, as it was just a hundred years before, was replete with valuable local descriptions and details.

In 1852, on the resignation of Governor Graham of North Carolina, who had been appointed Secretary of the Navy by President Fillmore, on his succession to the Presidency after the lamented death of General Taylor, Mr. Kennedy was called to preside over the Navy Department of the United States; and continued a member of the Cabinet, of which his friends Mr. Webster and Mr. Everett were successively the chiefs, until the change of Administration, in March, 1853. This was the period of some of our most interesting Naval Scientific Expeditions: that of Commodore Perry to Japan; and that of Dr. Kane to the Arctic Ocean, in search of Sir John Franklin, for which Mr. Kennedy prepared the instructions,

and gave to it the most effective encouragement. His name was accordingly given by Dr. Kane to one of the channels which he discovered, and was inscribed on his map of the Arctic Regions.

The visit of Mr. George Peabody to his native land in 1856, and his noble endowment of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, where, as a young banker, he had for some years resided, afforded Mr. Kennedy a new subject of interest, and opened to him a new field of useful labor. He was at once selected by Mr. Peabody, as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees for his great gift to the Baltimore Institute; and I have the best authority for knowing how earnestly he entered upon and pursued the work of organization committed to him, and how highly and gratefully his services were appreciated by Mr. Peabody to the last.

The darkest days of our country were now rapidly approaching. Mr. Kennedy was never, I believe, an owner of slaves, nor ever a supporter or apologist for slavery. But, on the other hand, he had never co-operated or sympathized with the extreme Abolitionists of the North, and had always united in measures for securing to his own, and the other Southern States, the rights in regard to this institution which were expressed or implied in the Constitution of the United States, as he understood its provisions. No northern man, however, could have been more averse than he was to the extension of slavery into new territories. He was, moreover, a devoted lover of the Union, and held in abhorrence all ideas either of peaceable or forcible secession or nullification. Living in a Border State, where the personal and party feuds which preceded and followed the outbreak of the Rebellion were so violent and bitter, and upon which at one time it seemed as if the whole brunt of the battle might fall, his first hopes undoubtedly were, as were those of many of his friends farther North, that some arrangement or adjustment might be devised, with a view to prevent the fratricidal strife, and avert the full horrors of

Civil War. He was in complete accord with the great Boston Memorial to that effect, which, under the lead of Mr. Everett, and in company with others of all parties, I had a share in the privilege of bearing to Congress in January, 1861. In this spirit, he published, a few weeks before the first fatal blow had been struck, a pamphlet entitled "The Border States; their Power and Duty," which presented the great questions before the country with boldness and signal ability, and appealed to the Border States to interpose, by some separate concerted action, for the settlement of all issues in dispute, and for the ultimate preservation of the Union. Reviewed in the light of subsequent developments and of final results, this appeal would probably be regarded with less approbation than it was at the time of its publication. But even then, as it soon proved, the time for discussion had passed, and little remained but to resist force by force. In that contest, Mr. Kennedy's influence and efforts were strongly and unqualifiedly on the side of the Government and the Union, and no coldness of friends, or dangers from enemies, could deter or daunt him.

During the progress of the War, he communicated a series of Letters to the "National Intelligencer," under the assumed name of "Paul Ambrose," in which he ably discussed "the principles and incidents of the Rebellion as these rose to view in the rapid transit of events"; which were collected and published in a volume, with his own name, in 1865. This was the last work which he gave to the public; and he soon afterwards embarked for Europe, in the hope of reinvigorating his somewhat shattered health.

It was not his first visit abroad. He had crossed the Atlantic twice before, and was no stranger to some of the best of English and European society. In those visits, he had renewed the intimacy with Thackeray and Dickens which he had enjoyed while they were in America, and had formed many other friendships with the literary men of France and England.

During his last tour, he was selected by Mr. Seward as one of the United-States Commissioners, at the grand Exposition of the Industry of all Nations in Paris, and in that capacity rendered valuable services; especially as one of the small select Commission, under the Presidency of Prince Napoleon, to which the subject of a uniform Decimal Currency was referred.

Mr. Kennedy had more than once contemplated giving to the press his "Notes of Travel," of which he has left many manuscript volumes, carefully composed and revised, which may still, I trust, furnish the material of a posthumous publication.

On his last return home, in October, 1868, he presided at a great Republican Mass Meeting in Baltimore; and made an earnest and eloquent appeal to the South to acquiesce cordially in the results of the War, and to unite "in that new pathway which Providence has ordained to be the line of our future march to the highest destiny of nations." This was his last public word.

In looking back on the life which has been thus rapidly sketched, and comparing his capacities for usefulness with his actual career, one cannot but feel how much has been lost to the best service of the country, in his case as in too many others, by the accidents of politics, and the caprices of parties. As a Senator, or as a Diplomatist, he would have done eminent honor to the nation at home or abroad; and he seemed particularly suited, by his abilities, his accomplishments, and his tastes, for prolonged and continuous service in spheres like these. But it was not in his nature to seek them, and it was not his fortune to enjoy them. I may be pardoned for recalling, in such a connection, those striking lines of Coleridge: —

"How seldom, Friend! a good great man inherits
Honor or wealth, with all his worth and pains!
It sounds like stories from the world of spirits

If any man obtain that which he merits,
Or any merit that which he obtains.

Goodness and greatness are not means, but ends !
Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
The good great man ? — three treasures, love, and light,
And calm thoughts, regular as infant's breath ;
And three firm friends, more sure than day and night, —
Himself, his Maker, and the angel Death."

Mr. Kennedy, as a man, was greater and better than all his books. One certainly looks in vain in all that he wrote or did for the full measure of those gifts and acquirements of mind and heart, that learning and wisdom, that wit and humor, that whole-souled cordiality and gayety and kindness, which shone out so conspicuously in the intimacies of daily intercourse. A truer friend or more charming companion has rarely been found or lost by those who have enjoyed the privilege of his companionship and friendship ; and among those may be counted not a few of our most distinguished authors and statesmen. A delightful week which I passed under his roof, many years ago, gave me an opportunity of witnessing the esteem and affection in which he was held by my only fellow-guest, Washington Irving, — whose *Life*, indeed, contains more than one letter to him, beginning, "Dear Horse Shoe," and ending "Geoffrey Crayon."

Though far advanced in his seventy-fifth year, and though he had occasionally suffered not a little of late from severe physical infirmities, Mr. Kennedy was naturally of so genial and joyous a temper, and sympathized so warmly with the young and gay, that the idea of his being an old man had hardly yet occurred to any one but himself. In the eyes of those around him, he seemed to have nothing of age except its experience and its mellowness. He was not insensible himself, however, to the approach of the inexorable hour. In a letter which I received from him not many weeks ago, — one of the last of a series running through a term of more than thirty years, — he said to me with more of sadness than I had ever known

him to write, certainly in regard to himself: "It is but small consolation to me — when I look at my letter-file, and see three or four of your letters asking for a word of recognition, — to argue my good intentions, and my infirmity of hand, for that silence which I daily resolve to break; for it is so persistently followed by a new delinquency, in the breach of my resolve, as to bring me nothing better than a new regret. But I know you will pardon these habitual shortcomings,— like the good and trusty friend you have always been, — and indulge me in that constrained silence, which is, in truth, only the sign and warning of one more inevitable, that comes with gentle step and, I trust, a friendly message to make it welcome."

A few weeks more at Saratoga Springs, by the advice of his physician, and a few weeks afterwards at Newport, where he had fixed his summer residence for several years past, completed his earthly career. A hidden malady was developed, which, after two days of agony, patiently and bravely borne, and one day of tranquil slumbers, released him to his rest. I may not omit to add that, in a blessed interval of wakefulness and ease, he eagerly renewed those pledges of Christian faith which he had often given in health, and was able to take leave of those dearest to him, as he said, "in perfect peace of mind and body."

He died at Newport, on the 18th of August; and his remains were at once removed to his native city, to repose in the neighboring Green Mount Cemetery, at the dedication of which he had delivered the Address, in 1839.

Mr. Kennedy left no children. His wife, who, with her sister, has rendered his home for more than thirty years so dear and delightful to himself, and so attractive to his friends, is a daughter of the late Edward Gray, Esq., of Baltimore, one of the worthiest and most respected merchants of that city; of whom Irving, on hearing of his death in 1856, wrote thus, in words which I can indorse with all my heart: "To be under

his roof, in Baltimore, or at Ellicott's Mills, was to be in a constant state of quiet enjoyment to me. Every thing that I saw in him, and in those about him; in his tastes, habits, mode of life; in his domestic relations and chosen intimacies, — continually struck upon some happy chord in my own bosom, and put me in tune with the world and with human nature."

Mr. Kennedy received the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University in 1863; and has been, for some years, an Associate Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Professor JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL then said: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — In the few words I shall say of Mr. Kennedy, I shall speak of him as it is fitting to speak of a man who made affection easy, and whom a short acquaintance had invested with something of the tender privilege of long friendship. Death should give a shelter from vague eulogy no less than from impertinent criticism. Here is no place for those *invidiosi veri*, on which, one is sometimes tempted to think, the Anglo-Saxon conscience is apt to lay an undue emphasis.

It is very likely that Mr. Kennedy could not be called a man of genius in the creative sense of that somewhat elastic word; but it is surely something to his honor, that, amid the manifold distractions of a busy and public life, he should have cherished the sweet and pure ambition of letters, of a higher and more durable success than politics and popularity can offer. In a society so prosperously active as ours, it is of good example to have had an intellectual ideal, and perhaps it is fairer here than elsewhere to measure a man rather by his aims than by his performance. After all, unless we adopt the plan of Pepys, and allow shelf-room only to books of blue blood, we must be willing to find a place for many volumes that could not make their claims valid with the heralds of literature. An exclusive commerce with the great may make us unduly

fastidious, and it is wholesome to unbend our faculties now and then from the strain of that Alpine society in the company of authors who simply know how to be agreeable. I think Mr. Kennedy's books have this pleasant quality,—a secret not seldom missed by writers more pretentious and of greater power. They are refined, manly, considerate of our grosser apprehensions; they attempt no solution of the problem of the Infinite (as it is called); they abound in cheerful pictures of natural scenery; and they will have a real value for the historian, from their lively notices of manners already remote. Perhaps the strongest impression they leave upon the mind is that they were written by a gentleman, a profession of greater consequence than is generally conceived.

Perhaps we overestimate the worth of mere literary ability. The lion has been the painter this time, and authors have not been slack in impressing on mankind the supreme importance of their function. Nevertheless it may well be suspected that the power of expressing fine sentiments is of a lower quality than the less obtrusive skill of realizing them in the life and character. This talent Mr. Kennedy possessed beyond most men. One could not be in his company for never so short a time, without being touched by that gentle consideration for others which is the root of all good breeding. His courtesy was not the formal discipline of elegant manners. There was a sense of benefaction in it. Whoever came near him felt the friendly charm which his nature radiated, so that his very house seemed steeped in it and welcomed you no less heartily than he. He was in the highest sense a genial man. He had a singular gift for companionship, for being something better than his books, and his finer qualities were lured out by the sympathy of the fireside. He was excellent in anecdote and reminiscence. His talk had just that pleasant suspicion of scholarship in it that befits the drawing-room, and never degenerated to the coarser flavor of pedantry. He could quote his bit of Horace or Virgil on occasion, which used to

be the neck-verse of cultivated men. He had the somewhat rare excellence of being playfully earnest; and, though he had strong convictions, never made them the scourge of other men.

But though gentleness was a prime quality in this gracious temperament, he could, when the times demanded, show qualities of stouter fibre. During the war of the Rebellion he stood firmly by the Nation, though it cost him a social position, which, to a man of his affectionate nature and social instincts, was dearer than any thing but duty. In the North it was easy to be loyal,—it was sometimes even profitable; but in Maryland loyalty meant ostracism, and might mean something worse. For Mr. Kennedy it sundered lifelong ties of friendship, and habitudes of society scarce less painful in the breaking. He might have escaped it all by a judicious impartiality between right and wrong; nay, even by a little of that caution which we call meanness if it fail, and prudence if it prosper. But he was a brave man, and chose the nobler privilege of danger.

How much fame may fall to his share, it would be out of place to compute too closely. Suffice it that he at least escaped its vulgar makeweight, notoriety. Surely he has something better, as it is sweeter, in gentle memories that will perish only with the last of those who knew him.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HILLARD next addressed the meeting:

I should not have added any thing to what has been said in honor of Mr. Kennedy, were it not that I am one of the few now present that were personally acquainted with him. This acquaintance was not of long duration, nor was it intimate; indeed, my personal knowledge of him hardly began before he was sixty; but I knew him well enough to feel able to give my emphatic assent to all that has been said in commendation of him by Professor Lowell and yourself.

No one could see and know Mr. Kennedy without feeling

that he himself was more and better than his writings, excellent and estimable as these are. He was a man whose elements of growth were self-derived. He was born in a Southern state, and had the best training which that portion of the country could furnish at the time of his youth. The natural drift of men so born and taught was to politics; but he resisted this general proclivity. He gave himself to literature and law, and slid into politics incidentally and accidentally; and as literature was his first, it remained to the last his strongest love.

Mr. Kennedy was delightful in all the social relations. He was given to hospitality, and no man appeared to more advantage when dispensing the gifts of hospitality. His conversation was frank, easy, and hearty. Men in our country, who have been much in public life, are apt to fall into a cautious and non-committal style of discourse. They are prone to talk with a vigilant self-observation, as if they feared that their words might be reported to their disadvantage by some unfriendly hearer. But he had none of this cold and timid prudence. He spoke out that which was in him, not fearing sometimes to utter what an ever cautious temper would have left unspoken. His conversation had the freshness, the freedom, the courage of youth. His mind, his heart, never grew old.

Of his works of fiction my recollection is but indistinct; but I freshly remember his "Life of Wirt," and I think it one of the most graceful, genial, and delightful pieces of biography that the literature of our country has to show. And let me here express the hope that some competent hand will do for him what he did so well for his friend; and the correspondence and unpublished manuscripts of Kennedy will surely afford to the biographer a theme not less full and fruitful than that furnished by the life and labors of the eminent lawyer, and more than respectable man of letters, whom he so well commemorated.

The President then read the following letter from Professor OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES : —

164 CHARLES STREET, Sept. 8th, 11 A.M.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP :

I am much disappointed in finding myself still so far indisposed that I do not feel like going to the meeting to-day.

The circumstance that I was probably the last member of our Society who met Mr. Kennedy made me anxious to have an opportunity to add a few words to the tribute you will pay to his memory, which I feel sure will be all that affectionate esteem and the knowledge of a life-time can render it. I could really have contributed nothing, except the memory of my few interviews, the two last of which, within less than a week of Mr. Kennedy's death, were singularly delightful. He was full of talk, so cheerful, so genial; so varied, — sometimes on political and historical matters with which he was familiar, sometimes relating personal experiences of which he had such a fund in his memory, always lively, entertaining, graceful in his discourse, — that I have rarely sat in a company when one man did more to keep all the rest happy in listening to him. There was no look of warning, no tone that could suggest a melancholy foreboding; but, bright and brave in the face of fast gaining infirmity which he would not betray to sadden others, he shed sunshine about him to the last.

It is singular that, having met him so few times, I should feel as if I knew him so well, and regret his loss so deeply. It was not merely because he was of a true and generous nature, and of a fine intelligence and culture, but because he was so frank and hearty with those whom he honored with his friendship, that a week with him was like a year with a man of a narrower mould and colder feelings.

I have written at a moment's notice, as I did hope to be with you; but if you can make any use of my note, pray do so.

Believe me, dear Mr. Winthrop,

Yours faithfully,

O. W. HOLMES.

The President laid upon the table some sheets of the public Acts of Connecticut, now in course of publication, sent to him by Mr. Hoadly, who called special attention to "An Act"

included therein (Chapter CX. p. 463) "for the Preservation of Ancient Town Records": —

An Act for the Preservation of Ancient Town Records.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

SEC. 1. It shall be the duty of the town clerk, in each town in this State, having manuscript volumes of town records, containing entries of deeds, town votes, wills, or judicial proceedings made prior to the year 1700, to cause copies to be made of all such entries, in a fair and legible hand, to the satisfaction of the State librarian; and to transmit said copies to the State librarian on or before the fourth day of July, 1871, for preservation in the State library.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the State librarian to procure and furnish to the town clerks of the several towns above referred to, suitable blank-books, substantially bound, in which to make said copies.

SEC. 3. As soon as any book containing such copies shall be received and approved by the State librarian, he shall give to the town clerk from whom he shall have received the same an order for such sum as said librarian may deem a reasonable compensation for making said copies; and the comptroller is hereby authorized to approve and allow all orders so given, and also such further accounts as said State librarian may contract in procuring and furnishing the blank-books described in section second; and to draw upon the State treasurer for the payment of the same.

Approved July 15th, 1870.

In a former letter received from Mr. Hoadly by the President, the writer thus refers to the recent recovery of a valuable manuscript book of laws: —

In 1859, the laws of the Territory and Dominion of New England were printed for the first time by Mr. Trumbull in the Appendix to the Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1678-1689, pp. 402-436, from the only manuscript then known to exist. Quite recently I have discovered another manuscript which contains those laws, and also the act or order concerning local laws alluded to on page 439 of Mr. Trumbull's volume. This manuscript enables us to supply some deficiencies in the manuscript used by Mr. Trumbull, and to correct the text in several places. Do you think that the Massachusetts Historical Society would like to reprint those laws?

The Memoir of the late Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., by Professor HEDGE, was announced as ready for publication, and is here given.



N. L. Frothingham.

MEMOIR

OF

NATHANIEL LANGDON FROTHINGHAM, D.D.

BY FREDERIC H. HEDGE.

THE city of Boston owes much to her clergy. From the first they have been her intellectual leaders and literary lights, as well as spiritual guides. Among the honored of this profession, the subject of this brief notice merits a conspicuous place.

NATHANIEL LANGDON FROTHINGHAM, son of Ebenezer Frothingham and Joanna Langdon, was born in Boston, on the twenty-third day of July, in the year 1793. Of his boyhood, there is nothing to record but his diligent scholarship and extraordinary intellectual promise. At school, in his native city, he took a high rank, and received the customary honors. At the age of fourteen he was entered as a student of Harvard College, a classmate of Edward Everett, in the Class of 1811.

Of his college life, another classmate and friend, the Rev. Dr. Allen, of Northborough, has kindly communicated, at my request, the following reminiscence : —

“ Dr. Frothingham was one of my most intimate friends in College, and our intimacy and friendship lasted through life. He was one of the younger members of the Class ; and although from the first a diligent student and a good scholar, it was not, I think, till his third year that he gained a high rank among his fellow-students. But at the close of his college course, he was surpassed by very few ; and as a reward

of distinguished merit, an English Oration, out of the usual course, was assigned him for Commencement. He was an elegant classical scholar, a fine writer in prose and verse; and in elocution he was surpassed by none of his classmates, not excepting Edward Everett. He was a great favorite — almost a pet — of Dr. McKean, the Professor of Rhetoric, who seemed to regard him as a model orator.

“Through his college life he maintained an irreproachable character, and was highly esteemed by his classmates; who, without jealousy or envy, watched his progress, and were proud of his fame.”

In 1812, he received the appointment of Preceptor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard, an office for which, even at the early age of nineteen, he was judged to be well qualified by his exquisite taste and brilliant success in that department. His duties in this capacity were not onerous, and left him abundant leisure for the study of that profession to which he had already turned his thoughts, and was ready to devote his gifts and powers. During the three years of academic office, he was making preparation for the ministry; and in 1815 he accepted a call to the pastorate of the First Church in Boston, a post in which the example of illustrious predecessors supplied a strong incentive to noble effort and a rule of beneficent action. Of his success in this connection, there are many witnesses. He attached to himself a strong and united parish, to which he ministered long enough to see one generation of worshippers pass and another take their place; long enough to teach the children of those whom as children he had taught and baptized. His “Congregation at the First Church,” says one of the notices that followed his death, “included a large number of scholars and writers, among whom were Edward Everett, William H. Prescott, George Bancroft, Joseph T. Buckingham, Henry T. Tuckerman, Charles Francis Adams, and Charles Sprague.”

In 1818, he married Ann Gorham Brooks, daughter of the late Peter C. Brooks of Boston, and sister of Mrs. Edward Everett and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams. From this union has sprung a numerous family of children, of whom the third

son, Octavius Brooks Frothingham, embraced the father's profession, and now holds a conspicuous place among the most gifted and popular preachers of New York.

In 1826, Dr. Frothingham obtained, by consent of his parish, a year's respite from his labors; and was able to gratify the long-cherished wish of his heart in a visit to Europe, from which he returned toward the close of the summer of 1827. Twenty-two years later, in 1849, a period of ill health occasioned a second and shorter visit, from which the tourist returned, with health still impaired, to occupy but a few months longer the post of duty which had tasked the strength of his manhood.

In 1850, after a ministry of thirty-five years, he retired from the pulpit, and resigned his pastoral connection with the First Church. After this, he occasionally, but rarely, by special request, took part in the public services of religion. "His last appearance in the pulpit," says the notice already quoted from the "Transcript," "was at the *impromptu* meeting in Hollis-street Church, on the day of the assassination of President Lincoln. His remarkable prayer on that occasion will never be forgotten by those who heard it. Beautiful, fitting, and appropriate in itself, his blindness gave added pathos to his heartfelt devotion."

But the years which followed his withdrawal from public duty were by no means years of idleness. He occupied himself with literary labors, and some of the choicest productions of his pen are the fruits of this long retirement. In 1852, he gave to the press a volume entitled "Sermons in the Order of a Twelve-month," containing some of the best of his professional discourses, all of which breathe a lofty strain of Christian thought and sentiment, and are characterized by that singular beauty of diction which all his critics acknowledge to be a distinguishing trait of Dr. Frothingham's writing. In 1855, he published a volume of poems, to which he gave the title "Metrical Pieces." Notwithstanding this modest

designation, these compositions have secured to him an honorable place among American poets.

In the spring of 1859, he made his third visit to Europe. In this tour he was accompanied by his family; they spent a year and a half in travel, returning in November, 1860.

Soon after his return, his eyesight, which had always been myopic, began rapidly to fail; and symptoms of glaucoma threatened the entire loss of vision which other members of his family had suffered before him. This affliction befell him four years later, following hard on a great domestic bereavement,—the loss of his wife, the cherished companion of nearly half a century of wedded life. In the summer of 1864, he submitted to a painful operation; which, instead of restoring, as he had been led to hope, the use of his eyes, resulted in total blindness. Into this night he sank at the age of seventy-two, and in it groped the last six years of a life which till then had been singularly prosperous and blest.

But no cloud obscured the intellectual day in which he moved, and in which he still continued to work during nearly five of those darkened years. With the aid of his faithful and efficient secretary and friend, Miss Ellen M. Buckingham, he brought his papers in order, dictated poems, translated German hymns, and prepared the material of a second volume of "Metrical Pieces," which, however, did not appear in print until loss of faculty had precluded his own interest in the publication.

Nothing was wanting to him in his decline of "that which should accompany old age;" not, certainly, "troops of friends." He enjoyed their society, delighting in the sound of familiar voices when familiar faces beamed on him in vain, and conversing with unimpaired faculty and zest until nearly the last year of his life. "In my frequent visits to him," says Dr. Allen, "in the 'evil days' which came upon him after the external world was shut out from his sight, I always found him bright and cheerful, fond of recalling the scenes of our college

life and the memory of departed classmates and friends, and thankful for the blessings that still remained."

Speaking of a prominent trait of Dr. Frothingham's character, the same friend writes: "I have personal knowledge of his kindness and generosity, for I have been the almoner of his bounty; and I know that some — I believe that many — recall his acts of kindness and bless his memory."

The last year, especially the last winter months, of his mortal experience, were burdened with infirmities and pains which leaned too hardly on his weakened frame, and shut out every prospect but that of the great Beyond.

He died on Monday, the 4th of April, 1870. On the same day, there appeared in the columns of the "Boston Transcript" an obituary notice, by the Rev. Mr. Fox, of which the greater part is here subjoined: —

"Rev. Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, D.D., died at his residence in Newbury Street, Monday morning, at two o'clock; receiving thus a blessed relief from a protracted and painful sickness. Though for several years he has been a sufferer in the seclusion of the sick-chamber, and out of the sight of all but a few friends and those who ministered to him with unwearied, filial devotion, he has not been out of the minds and the hearts of the many who highly esteemed and greatly loved him; and sincere sorrow will be mingled with the feeling that his departure was ordered in mercy.

"Quietly devoted to his professional duties, Dr. Frothingham's life was uneventful; for it was the life of the student and the man of letters. His learning was various and accurate; and he was honored for his acquirements, as well as for the high order of his intellectual gifts. In social converse he was the coveted teacher and companion of our best thinkers and scholars. His interest and delight in literary pursuits continued unabated when others, suffering from infirmities and pains like his, would have abandoned their books and pens, and felt that even to listen to reading was a luxury to be given up. Whilst sickness allowed him to work, he was never idle.

"Dr. Frothingham published several volumes of prose and poetry; and to the 'Christian Examiner,' the 'North American Review,' and several other periodicals, he frequently contributed articles of rare

excellence, both as to their substance and their form. His style was singularly pure and rich; showing a finish and correctness, in eloquent paragraphs and exquisite sentences, quite unrivalled. His exaction and fastidiousness, as a critic of the writings of others, were severely applied to his own productions; and hence the polish, erudition, solid brilliancy, lofty sentiment, and thoughtfulness, which have put them among the best specimens of American literature.

"Of Dr. Frothingham as a man it is hardly necessary to speak in this community, to those of his own day and generation, or to those younger than himself, whose privilege it was to meet him and enjoy intercourse with him. Courteous, genial, hospitable, liberal in his conservatism, catholic in his judgments, free from all petty envies and jealousies, without ostentation, and scorning loud or mere professions, there was about him a winning charm that made his presence and his speech ever welcome to all.

"It is impossible, in these necessarily hurried lines, to pay the tribute due to his home virtues, conscientious patriotism, assiduity as a Christian teacher, and readiness to contribute all in his power to the advancement of sound learning, wise charities, refining art, and whatever else might serve to promote the intellectual and moral well-being of the community.

"To his excellence and his example in these respects others will hasten to do justice. We must be content with this general and imperfect expression of regard for the memory of one, whose works and words are not to be forgotten or the less prized, because the close of his more than threescore and ten years was veiled and hidden by blindness and inexorable disease."

The funeral service was performed on the following Wednesday (April 6th), in the newly erected church of his parish, in Berkeley Street. The Rev. Dr. Gannett read appropriate selections from the Scriptures; and the Rev. Dr. Ellis* offered the customary prayer. A funeral address, delivered by the Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, is appended to this brief memoir by the same hand.

At the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which Dr. Frothingham was a member, on the 14th of the

* Dr. George E. Ellis; Mr. Rufus Ellis, the Pastor of the Church, Dr. Frothingham's successor, was prevented by illness from attending the service.

same month, commemorative addresses were made by the President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, by the Rev. Dr. Walker, and by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop. They are reported in the *Journal of the Society*.

Among the literary tributes to Dr. Frothingham's genius, the ablest and most adequate is that by Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman, which appeared not long since in the "*New York Tribune*."



ADDRESS AT THE BURIAL OF DR. FROTHINGHAM.

It was a message of joy that brought to the friends of Dr. Frothingham, on Monday last, the tidings of his release from the darkness of the prison-house in which his latter years had pined, with no hope of deliverance but that which the Angel of Death brings to every captive at last.

To us, who had known him in the days of his strength and the plenitude of his genius, he had died long since. We had buried him in our hearts; and what remained of him we felt to be less truly he than the image in our memory and the works he had given us. He had died to intellectual converse while in the body he yet lived. But now that the body's death has severed the last tie that bound him to this earthly sphere, his image is restored to us with transfigured beauty. And here, as we meet for the burial rite in the sanctuary of that Church of which he was so long minister, we summon his idea from its sanctuary in our minds, and represent to ourselves what he was in character and action.

Born in this city in July, 1793; graduated at Harvard, a classmate of Edward Everett, in 1811; for some time Tutor of Rhetoric and Oratory in that University, — he was called in 1815 to be the Pastor of this Church; a post which he occupied with mind and heart for thirty-five years, resigning in 1850 the arduous trust. To the duties of that office he

gave the strength and marrow of his life, suffering no literary avocation — though a lover of letters — to divert his thoughts or disengage his affections from the work of the ministry; subordinating all other tastes and pursuits to that supreme call.

As a preacher, he could hardly be said to be popular. Excessive refinement, want of *rapprochement* with the common mind, precluded those homely applications of practical truth which take the multitude. Nor did he feel sufficient interest in doctrinal theology to satisfy those who craved systematic instruction in that line. His reputation, therefore, was less extended than intense. The circle of his admirers was small; but those who composed it listened to him with enthusiastic delight. When, occasionally, he preached to us students at the University, from the pulpit of the College Chapel, there was no one, I think, to whom we listened with attention more profound; and, for myself, I can say with richer intellectual profit. The poetic beauty of his thought, the pointed aptness of his illustrations, the truth and sweetness of the sentiment, the singular and sometimes quaint selectness, with nothing inflated or declamatory in it, of the language, won my heart, and made him my favorite among the preachers of that day. I will not mispraise him, when dead, whom living I could not flatter. I am well aware, and was even then aware, that the preaching of our friend did not satisfy the class of minds to which Channing in his way, and Walker and Ware and Lowell, so ably ministered in theirs; but preaching has other legitimate and important functions beside those of unfolding the philosophy of religion, or stimulating the moral sense. There are "differences of gifts," and there are "diversities of operations"; but the same spirit goes with all earnest effort in the service of truth, and is justified in all.

One service Dr. Frothingham has rendered to the Church and the cause of religion, in which he is unsurpassed by any preacher of his connection, — perhaps, I may say, by any

American preacher of his time. I speak of his hymns, which will live, I believe, — I am sure they deserve to live, — as long as any hymns in our collections. His musical tact, his intimate knowledge of the exigences of vocalism, combining with his poetic faculty, have added, in those hymns of his, to devout aspiration and pure religious sentiment the perfection of melody.

I name as examples in this kind the hymn : —

“ We meditate the day
Of triumph and of rest.”

And this : —

“ We bless thy Church high over all
The heathen's rage and scoff.”

And where, among all the hymns in our language, is there any thing finer in its way than parts of the hymn : —

“ O God ! whose presence glows in all ” ?

this stanza, for instance : —

“ Send down its angel to our side,
Send in its calm upon the breast ;
For we would know no other guide,
And we can need no other rest.”

Thanks are due to the man, had he done nothing else, for these beautiful specimens of sacred poetry, these choice contributions to the uses of worship. And for these, while hymns are sung in our churches, the congregations will bless his name.

As a scholar, he had in his profession no superior, — scarcely a rival. A learned theologian, familiar with the Latin and Greek classics, well versed in the modern languages and their literatures, — in richness and extent of intellectual culture he stood pre-eminent among his brethren. In their assemblings and discussions, his word was waited for as sure to be the most significant and luminous utterance of the hour.

An exquisite finish, a polished elegance of thought and phrase, distinguished his performances, even the most trifling,

and made them a study of good taste and good speech. In familiar discourse, when most at his ease, the unstudied and innate grace of his mind gave a peculiar and emphatic zest to his conversation. Nothing awkward ever fell from his lips. His words expressed with unerring fitness the thing most fit to be expressed.

The name of poet is not to be lightly and indiscriminately applied to makers of verses; but I venture to call Dr. Frothingham a poet in the strictest sense of the term. Not because he wrote and published verses, but because he possessed the lyrical mind; or, more properly, the lyrical mind possessed him. His impressions of things and occasions found in verse their fittest and most natural utterance. The spontaneous gush of his soul was song. His best thoughts took on a poetical form, and could vent themselves in no other way. His exceeding modesty induced him to designate his two volumes of printed poems by the title "Metrical Pieces;" but if I know any thing of poetry, those volumes contain many genuinely poetic utterances, and such as the best-esteemed poet in the land might be proud to own. His versions from other tongues, and especially from the rich stores of German song, are acknowledged by competent judges to be the most successful attempts in that kind. A great poet has said that the truest lyrical poetry is occasional poetry. A large portion of Dr. Frothingham's original pieces are of that description, — poems elicited by provocations of place and time and event. I may mention, as examples of this sort, the National Ode on the 203d Celebration of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, "The Crossed Swords"; and that almost faultless poem, "The Burial of John Eliot Thayer": —

"No vulgar wealth, with amplest show,
Such funeral wreaths could twine.
It was not that he made it grow,
But that he bade it shine, —

" Shine with such uses as have made
A glory where we live;
Shine with such charities as aid
Those who receive and give."

I have spoken briefly, as befits the hour, of our friend's intellectual endowments and literary service; but what of the man? We love to remember, and shall long remember, the charm of his discourse, his wide culture, the sparkle of his wit, the flowers of rhetoric and song with which he adorned his path and gladdened ours; but, met in the solemn presence of death, we are reminded that the glories of intellect and literary achievement

" Are shadows, not substantial things";

that the only and enduring thing in man is the moral type in which his innermost being is expressed. What of the man?

If I call upon you who knew him best — the companions of his prime and the friends of his declining years — to render your verdict in this case, I know you will gladly bear witness with me that this was a man beloved of many, and most worthy to be loved, for his own sake, and the beautiful and endearing qualities which nearer acquaintance revealed in him. But love, it is said, is partial; it has no authorized voice in the court which tries character, either as witness or as judge. Love partial? I think not. Love can be critical; it is naturally so from its very concern for the good of its object. We see very clearly the faults of those we love, and we love them none the less on account of those faults. But then there are faults, and those of the worst kind, which preclude love; which alienate friendship, repel affection. Inordinate selfishness, vanity, falsity, malignity, arrogance, baseness of every sort, — these are qualities which no man can love. These are qualities no friendship can abide, which none can possess and continue to be loved. The fact, then, that he of whom I speak was so endeared to a large circle of

attached friends, independently of all ties of kindred and blood, — friends whose friendship strengthened with acquaintance; who cleaved to him when all charm had vanished from his converse and all brilliancy had gone out of his life, — is a proof of the absence in him of all such qualities as I have named. But to speak positively of that which I found in him, I have to say that our friend, as I judged him, was truthful and sincere; gentle, generous, and kindly affectioned; humane, free from all arrogance or self-conceit; that his was the charity that “envieth not,” that “vaunteth not itself,” that “is not puffed up,” that “thinketh no evil.”

What especially impressed me in my long and close observation of the man, and what I consider to be a decisive test of character, was his prompt and generous recognition of talent, faculty, or merit in others; particularly in those of his own profession, competitors with him in a common career; the absence of any thing approaching to jealousy or bitterness, when the prize of popularity, denied to him, was freely bestowed on his inferiors. His eye was quick to discern, and his heart was prompt to appreciate, and his tongue to acknowledge, what was excellent in every performance, or the promise of excellence yet to come. He welcomed the rising talent of his juniors in office; he was even willing to believe in it where there was none. I am indebted to him for the best encouragement I received in my youth. Meanwhile, he never quarrelled with the want of appreciation of his own deserts; I think he underrated those deserts in his judgment of himself. He whom I was ready to place first was quite content to take the lower room.

Very little there was in him of wrath or ill-will, and that little very transient. At a time when the lines of ecclesiastical separation and sectarian exclusion were more distinctly and unrelentingly drawn than now, he could put himself in friendly relations with the ministers of other connections than his own. And if, in times of bitter controversy within the lines of his

own denomination, he sometimes misjudged and burned with indignation against those whom he believed to be enemies of truth and religion,—enemies dangerous to social order,—in cooler moments he regretted with sorrow unfeigned every harsh and hasty word or act, and the severing of old bonds, and alienation and strife; and desired, as he assured me, to forget all differences, to recover past fellowship, and to be at peace with all the world.

The crowning grace of his life was the brave and invincible patience with which he bore the multiplied infirmities of his declining years.

There befell him in those years the affliction which is justly reckoned among the greatest of physical calamities,—the loss of sight. Loss of sight to a scholar with a well-stored library, the habit of whose life has been to rove among his books, and to turn at any moment to the passage needed for solace or refreshment; for the verification of a fact, for the resolution of a doubt; for help in the perplexity of thought, where the right word at the right moment may roll the burden of hours from the mind! Loss of sight to a widowed man, bereft of the one companion who best could lend her guiding hand to his dark steps, and best supply the lack of eyes at all times and in every place! Loss of sight to a sensitive man, accustomed to self-help, and nobly impatient of foreign aid! Loss of sight to a lover of nature, to whom the green of earth and the blue sky, and sunset and sunrise and the stars, are the heart's daily bread! Friends, have you ever figured to yourselves what that means,—to be a prisoner with open doors; a captive to your own impotence, walled in by perpetual darkness; to know no difference between day and night; to catch no eye responsive to your own, the light of no smile in the face of your beloved; to miss for ever the glories of earth and sky, the familiar aspects of every-day life, and all the dear consuetudes of vision?

"Oh! dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
Without all hope of day!

To live a life half dead, a living death."

All this our friend was called to bear, and bore with a fortitude that never flinched, and a resignation that never murmured.

I visited him a short time before the waning light in his eyes had gone out in total blindness. He told me that he had just signed his name, as he supposed, for the last time. I spoke of the interior resources at his command, of the rich treasures of knowledge which he would take with him into the impending night, and which no night could take from him. His reply was: "I am afraid I am a poor creature; but I hope I shall not misbehave." The friends who came to him in his darkness will bear witness how well the resolution that lay in this modest hope was kept. How keenly he felt the great privation, and also what solace and trust attended it, is shown in some of his later poems. The "Bartimæus" — the finest, I think, of all his compositions — derives an exquisite pathos from the author's personal experience: —

"Yes, happy, — cleave we to the hope,
Though feet must swerve and hands must grope;
All action played behind a screen,
The world no space and life no scene;
Though nature, art, street, fields, and books,
And better, best, all friendly looks,
Have faded into nought; the gaze
That spans a world and threads a maze,
And, when the round of day is done,
Outshoots the arrows of the sun,
Changed for the thin, short line that slips
Beneath the moving finger-tips.

Nor all concealed from human thought
How this celestial work is wrought.
They who see not have eyes that lend
Their aid to guide and to defend.

Aye, numberless. They sit immured
In kindly offices ; secured
By their strong helplessness. Who stem
The boldest crowds make way for them.
Mark, on the pavement, how the click
Of their half-seeing, slender stick
Is potent as a sultan's word
Or marshal's staff or conqueror's sword.
Close tended by the good and kind,
They form the temper that they find.
Does not that disposition bless,
And good-will grow to happiness ?

The new beatitude will prove
The wonder of the Father-love,
That bids such compensation wait
On a calamity so great.

With narrowing range of earth's ado,
The field of strife is narrowed too ;
The tents are struck, the flags are furled,
That make a camp of half the world ;
As feuds and provocations close,
The unchallenged spirit tastes repose."

Some years of that "repose" were vouchsafed to him when the blindness was complete ; some peaceful years of inward light in the body's darkness ; some fruitful years of prolonged intellectual youth in his "age's lateness." A mind so cultured and productive could not rest or fall asleep while enough of bodily strength remained to nourish mental action. The spirit was willing ; the flesh was constrained to execute its will. He continued to compose by dictation when the eye could no longer guide the pen ; fortunate in finding a well-cultured and competent amanuensis, who was literary coadjutrix, friend, and nurse, in one. Some of his best versions from the German were, if I mistake not, accomplished during this period. The friends who visited him found him uniformly cheerful, of good courage, with mind still girt and bow still bent, responsive to the best with his own best, enjoying conversation and bearing his part in it with scarcely perceptible abatement of the ancient fire.

This until somewhat more than a year ago, when his strength at last gave way; and, in the utter prostration of his frame, the mind refused to bring forth, the light flickered in its socket, and "all the daughters of music were brought low." From that time onward, bedridden, suffering at times extreme pain, he sunk from weakness to weakness, and from night to night, until the great night came whose morning is not of this world, and the sleep whose waking is no more; as in these last years, into new darkness, but — so we trust — into new and unending day.

And now, in bidding "Farewell!" to what was mortal in our friend, I feel how imperfectly I have voiced our impression of the man. My consolation is that he speaks for himself more forcibly than I could speak, had time been allowed to speak as I would: speaks by his printed word; speaks by his image in the mind. He is henceforth set as a star in our heaven of blessed memories; a member of that trinal constellation, of which Everett and Prescott are the brother-lights. The orator, the historian, the poet, — beautiful in their combined effulgence, — each vivid with his peculiar ray!

For the earthly, now vanished from our embrace, we have no lament to make and no tears to shed. We will not pretend to mourn the going of one from whom what was best had already gone. Rejoice with me in his blessed release from darkness and bondage and pain! In his own fit words, spoken at the funeral service in memory of Lafayette: "We come not to mourn that he died, but to thank God that he has lived."

Mr. DEANE communicated from our Corresponding Member, the Hon. H. B. Grigsby, of Virginia, a photographic copy, four and a half inches in diameter, of the seal of Virginia during one period of its colonial history. One side represents the person of the king standing, with the sceptre in his right hand, receiving with his left hand, from a kneeling Indian,

some leaves of tobacco. Beneath is, "EN · DAT · VIRGINIA · QUARTAM ·"; and encircling the two figures, is the following: "SIGILLUM · PROVINCIÆ · NOSTRÆ · VIRGINIÆ · IN · AMERICA ·" On the other side is represented the arms of England with the usual mottoes, encircled with the following: "GEORGIUS III · D · G · MAG · BRI · IR · ET · HIB · REX · D · G · MAG · F · D · BRUN · ET · LUN · DUX · S · R · I · AR · THES · ET · EL ·" Concerning this seal Mr. Grigsby writes: —

"Of course there was a change in the name of the sovereign given on the seal with every new sovereign. Remember, it is not the seal of the colony as such, but that of the king, who applies it by the hand of his viceroy, the governor. The colony proper, though it had a coat of arms, which the House of Burgesses always impressed upon the journals of its proceedings, as appears from copies now before me, never engraved the arms in the form of a seal, as the body never required a seal, — the office of a seal being executive and not legislative. This distinction is worth attending to; for it is plain that none other than the immediate representative of the king would be authorized to use his seal."

OCTOBER MEETING.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 13th October, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the preceding meeting.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library for the past month.

The President presented, in the name of our associate, Mr. W. S. Appleton, a copy of a recently printed volume, entitled "Ancestry of Priscilla Baker," &c., compiled by the donor.

A portrait of the late Bishop Griswold, in cabinet size, was presented by another member, Mr. W. H. Whitmore.

Through our associate, Professor Wyman, recently returned from Europe, Mr. A. W. Franks, F.A.S., presented a number of pamphlets issued by the Society of Antiquaries of London, for which thanks were returned.

The President referred to the presence of Professor Washburn, who had lately returned from abroad, and who, during his absence, had been elected a Vice-President of the Society; and expressed the hope that the members might hear from him some account of his visit.

Professor WASHBURN responded, thanking the Society for the honor done him, giving also briefly the result of some of his observations in Europe. In speaking of his visit to Cambridge, England, he gave the following description of a caricature which he saw there at the Bull Inn:—

At the Bull Inn, Cambridge, England, in the entering hall, hangs, among many others, a picture about eight by fifteen inches. It represents three persons. One of these stands partly kneeling under a gallows with a rope around his neck. His head is shaved, and he is covered all over with feathers. The man on his left wears a red coat, striped breeches, shoes with buckles, and a broad-brimmed hat turned up on one side, with a blue rosette. He holds the rope which is

around the middle man's neck in one hand, and a club in the other. The man at the left of the picture has on a blue coat, striped breeches, shoes and buckles, a broad-brimmed hat turned up all around, and "45" inscribed upon it in two places in chalk. He holds what looks like a tea-kettle in his hand, from which he is pouring some liquid upon the feathered man. This middle man has a very cross and downcast look, while the other two seem to be enjoying the thing and laughing heartily. Under the picture is printed, —

"A new method of *Macarony Making*, as practised at Boston.

"For the custom house officers landing the tea,
They tarred him and feathered him just as you see,
And they drenched him so well both behind and before
That he begged for God's sake they would drench him no more.

"Printed for Carrington Bowling at his map and print warehouse, No. 60, in St. Paul's Church Yard, London, published as the act directs, Oct. 12, 1771."

Mr. JOHN C. GRAY related the following anecdote of the late Governor Brooks: —

In the year 1815 I travelled to Niagara in company with Governor Brooks, then General Brooks, of Medford. He met one day with an old friend and brother officer of the Revolution, and related in my presence the following anecdote, to which, as may be supposed, I listened with the greatest attention and interest.

Immediately after one of the battles of our Revolution (I think "White Plains"), Washington was informed that the Massachusetts regiment of which Brooks was major had fled from its post; whereas it had sustained itself most gallantly in the thickest of the fight, and was one of the last to retreat. Washington mentioned on parade what he had heard, and added that nothing could have grieved him more than that a regiment on which he had relied of all others should have acted so unworthily. Brooks immediately asked who could have given such information. Some one quoted General —— as the author. "Sir," said Brooks, "if General —— or any one else told your Excellency any thing of the kind, he is a" (adding a very strong epithet) "liar." Some comment being made, Washington said, "No matter; I am not displeased to see a young officer sensitive on such an occasion." After a pause, Washington added, "Let the regiment march to the extreme left." "Your Excellency," said Brooks, "can march us nowhere where we shall not go willingly, except it be out of danger."

The regiment took its position accordingly. In a short time the

officers were informed that the commande-in-chief was approaching. Brooks rose and made his salute, with great stiffness, but in proper form. Washington then said that he was most happy to learn that he had been wholly misinformed, and that the regiment had behaved with its well-known gallantry. He added that it should take its former position, and that he trusted that the explanation would be entirely satisfactory. To this the colonel at once assented. Washington then said, "Is this satisfactory to you, Major Brooks?"—"Not at all, sir."—"Why not?"—"Your Excellency may recollect that the charge was made in the most public manner. It would seem proper that the explanation should be equally public." After a moment's reflection, Washington said, "Will it be satisfactory in general orders?" "Entirely so," said Brooks. General orders were issued accordingly, and the whole matter settled in the most satisfactory way.

I afterwards heard General Brooks refer to some of the most important incidents on another occasion; on which, however, he avoided mentioning his own name and that of his regiment, and mentioned the matter merely as an affair between Washington and an officer of the army.

Mr. ELLIS AMES remarked that, at a former meeting of this Society, in some discussion in which several members took part, it was incidentally questioned whether Copley, the portrait painter, and father of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, was engaged at all when in Boston in painting miniatures, and said that the late Joseph W. Revere, a son of Colonel Paul Revere, informed him that this was the fact; for that his father, then a goldsmith, made cases for Copley for his miniatures. Mr. Ames then produced the day-book of Colonel Paul Revere from and including January 3, 1761, down to the commencement of the Revolutionary war, containing numerous entries of charges against and credits to Mr. Copley, beginning January 7, 1763, the last entry but one being on Sept. 17, 1767. Thus, under date of Feb. 7, 1763, is the following:—

Mr. John Copley, Dr.

To a gold case for a picture for Mr Nel—n	£	s.	d.
	3.	0.	0
To one Ditto—weight 5 pennyweights.	2.	14.	8

Under the date of Oct. 20, 1768:—

Mr. John Copley, Dr.

To glass for a picture and setting it	£ s. d.
	0. 5. 4

Under date of Feb. 18, 1765:—

Mr. John Copley,

To a silver picture frame Mrs St—gs . . .	1. 0. 0
To a gold Ditto Gr—f . . .	3. 0. 0
	<hr/> 4.

So under date of Feb. 20, 1765:—

Mr. John S. Copley, Dr.

To a gold setting for a picture—weight, 4	
pennyweights 18 grains	1. 5. 4
to the making	1. 8. 0
to the glass	2. 8

Under date of 26 Feb. 1765:—

Mr. John Copley,

To a gold case for a picture Wt: ^{per} 4. 8 Mrs	
R—gs	1. 3. 6
To the making 1£ 8 ^s —Glass $\frac{3}{4}$	1.10.8
To one Ditto Wt: 0. 3. 18. ^{per}	1. 0. 3
To making £1. 8 ^s & Glass $\frac{3}{4}$	1.10.8
To one Ditto Wt: 0. 4. 16 ^{per}	1. 5. 8
To the making £1. 8 ^s Glass $\frac{3}{4}$	1.10.8
To one silver ditto	1. 0. 0
To one Ditto	1. 0. 0
To 8 glasses	1. 1. 4

Under date of Nov. 8, 1765:—

Mr. John S. Copley,

To a gold picture frame	1. 8. 0
To the making	1. 8. 0
To the glass	0. 2. 8

Mr. DEANE exhibited a printed broadside containing the names of the "Protesters" against the Solemn League and Covenant; and those of the "Addressers" to Governor Hutchinson before leaving the country in 1774. The paper belonged to Mr. John K. Wiggin, of Boston, through whose kindness it was allowed to be exhibited to the meeting, and to be printed in the "Proceedings":—

Whereas a great Number of People have express'd a Desire that the Names of the Addressers to the late Gov. HUTCHINSON, and Protesters against the solemn League and Covenant might be made Publick, the following is a true List of the same, Viz.

Those who Asteriz'd are not Natives of America.

NAMES.	PLACES OF BUSINESS, &c.	OCCUPATIONS.
Joseph Green	South School Street	Merchant.
John Winslow	South End	Iron Dealer.
Isaac Winslow, jun.	King Street	Distiller.
Thomas Oliver	Cambridge	Farmer.
Henry Lloyde	Long Wharf	Merchant, & Contractor for the
Benjamin Davis	Town Dock	Huckster. (Troops.
Isaac Winslow	Roxbury	Farmer.
Lewis Deblois	Dock Square	Shopkeeper.
*Thomas Aylwin		Factor.
William Bowes	Dock Square	Brazier.
Gregory Townsend		Crown Officer.
Francis Green	King Street	Merchant.
Philip Dumaresque		Factor.
Harrison Gray		Treasurer. !--!
Peter Jehonnot		Distiller.
George Erving	King Street	Merchant.
John Vassal	Cambridge	Farmer.
Nathaniel Coffin		Deputy Cashier to the Board of Com-
*John Timmins	Market Square	Merchant. (missioners.
William Taylor	King Street	Dealer in small Wares.
Thomas Brinley		Distiller.
Harrison Gray, jun.		A Clerk in the Treasurers Office.
John Taylor	Cornhill	Shopkeeper.
Gilbert Deblois	ditto	Ditto.
Joshua Winslow	King Street	Merchant.
Daniel Hubbard	Green's Wharf	ditto.
*Hugh Tarbet		Rope-maker.
Henry Leddle		Uncertain.
Nathaniel Cary	Town Dock	Merchant.
George Brinley		Ditto.
Richard Lechmere		Distiller.
John Erving, jun.	Kilby Street	Merchant.
Thomas Gray	ditto	Ditto, and Agent for the Transports.
George Bethune	King Street	Ditto.
Thomas Apthorpe		Crown Officer.

Ezekiel Goldthwait		County Register, and Clerk of the
Benjamin Gridley		Pettifogger. (Inferior Court!!)
*John Atkinson	King Street	Merchant.
Ebenezer Bridgman	ditto	A Retailing Factor of Crockery
John Gore	Queen Street	Painter.
Adino Paddock	Long Acre	Chaise-Maker.
Daniel Silsby	Market Square	Shopkeeper.
William Cazneau	Dock Square	Ditto.
*James Forrest	King Street	Ditto.
*Edward Cox	ditto	Ditto.
*John Berry	ditto	Ditto.
*Richard Hiron		A late Ship Surgeon.
Ziphion Thayer	Cornhill	Upholsterer.
John Joy	School Street	Carpenter.
Joseph Goldthwait		Crown-Officer.
Samuel Prince	King Street	Merchant.
Jonathan Simpson	Dock Square	Ditto.
*James Boutineau		Formerly a Merchant.
Nathaniel Hatch	Dorchester	One of the Clerks of the Superior
Martin Gay	Union Street	Copper Smith. (Cor't.
Joseph Scott	ditto	Brazier.
Samuel Minot	Fore Street	Goldsmith.
Benjamin M. Holmes	Back Street	Distiller.
*Archibal McNeil	Marlborough Street	Baker to the Army.
George Leonard		Miller.
John Borland	Cambridge	Gentlemen.
Joshua Loring, jun.	Dorchester	Unknown.
William Jackson	Corn hill	Shopkeeper.
*James Anderson	Merchants Row	Factor.
*David Mitchelson		Lapidary.
Abraham Savage		Collector of Taxes!!!
*James Asby	King Street	Watch Cleaner.
*John Inman	Green's Wharf	Clerk to John Rowe, Esq;!!
John Coffin	South End	Distiller.
*Thomas Knigut	Corn hill	Toy-seller.
Benjamin Greene, jun.	Green's Wharf	Merchant.
David Greene	ditto	Ditto.
Benjamin Greene	ditto	Ditto.
Henry H. Williams	Noddles Island	Farmer.
*James Warden	Green's Wharf	Merchant.
Nathaniel Coffin, jun.	Kilby Street	Factor and Son to the Deputy
Silvester Gardner	Marlborough Street	Apothecary. (Cashier.
John S. Copley		Portrait Painter.
Edward Foster	Bridges Lane	Blacksmith.
Colbourn Barrell		Merchant and Sandemanian Preach-
Nathaniel Greenwood		Mast Maker. (or.
*William Burton	Town Dock	Merchant.
*William Blair	Treat's Wharf	Unknown.
*James Selkrig	Town Dock	Factor.
*Archibald Willson	ditto	ditto.
Jeremiah Green	Purchase Street	Tallow Chandler.
Samuel H. Sparhawk	Kittery	NOTHING.

Joseph Turell		Clerk of the Inferior Court, a relation
*Roberts and Lee	Cornhill	Jewellers. (to Hutchinson.
*JOHN GREENLAW	South End	A Scotch Shopkeeper.
Benjamin Clarke	Cornhill	Brazier.
*William McAlpine	Marlborough Street	Book-Binder.
Jonathan Snelling	Treat's Wharf	Factor.
*James Hall		Mariner who brought the first Cargo
*William Dickson	Town Dock	Factor. (of Tea
John Winslow, jun.	Long Wharf	Merchant.
Theophilus Lillie	North End	Shopkeeper.
Miles Whitworth	Wing's Lane	Surgeon.
*James McEwen		Mariner in George Bethune's Em-
William Codner		Clerk to William Bowes. (ploy.
James Perkins	Merchants Row	Merchant.
John White	Boston	Mariner, keeps Shop in Union
Robert Jarvis	Fort Hill	Mariner and Wine-seller. (Street
*William Perry		Unknown.
*James & Patrick McMasters	King Street	Shopkeepers.
William Coffin	South End.	Distiller, and Father to the Deputy
Simeon Stoddard, jun.		NOTHING. (Cashier.
John Powell	King Street	Merchant.
*Henry Laughton	Cornhill	Shopkeeper.
Eliphalet Pond	Dedham	Farmer.
M. B. Goldthwait	Middle Street	Apothecary of little NOTE.
Peter Hughes	King Street	Merchant.
*JOHN SEMPLE	Cornhill	Scotch Shopkeeper.
Hopestill Capen	Union Street	Carpenter, lately a Shopkeeper.
Edward King	Fort Hill	Wharfinger.
Byfield Lyde		POWDER MONKEY.
George Lyde	Casco Bay	Custom-House Officer.
A. F. Phillips		NOTHING.
Rufus Green	South End	Shopkeeper.
David Phips	Cambridge	Sheriff.
*Richard Smith	King Street	Merchant.
George Spooner	Treat's Wharf	ditto.
Samuel Hughes	King Street	Clerk to Peter Hughes

N. B. As the Occupation and Places of Business of some of the Persons in the above curious List are utterly unknown to the Editor, it is desired that, any Person or Persons who can give Intelligence thereof, would send it to the British Coffe-House, inclosed in a Letter directed to the true American, and due Notice will be shown to them in the next Edition

Merchants	27
Traders	36
Others	60
Total	123

Protesters.

Harrison Gray	Francis Green	Benjamin Gridley
Joseph Green	Nathaniel Coffin	Benjamin Clarke
George Erving	Ezekiel Goldthwait	William Taylor
John Vassel	Silvester Gardner	Gilbert Deblois
John Timmins	Byfield Lyde	John Taylor

Benjamin Davis	Jonathan Simpson	Benj. Green, jun
Benjamin Greene	George Bethune	Thomas Knight
Stephen Greenleaf	Refus Green	William Bowes
Isaac Winslow	William Coffin	Peter Johonet
Richard Lechmere	Jeremiah Green	George Leonard
Joshua Winslow	James Boutineau	Thomas Apthorp
Daniel Hubbard	Thomas Gray	James Selkrig
John Erving, jun.	Henry Lloyd	David Green
James Perkins	Samuel Fitch	Lewis Deblois
Isaac Winslow, jun.	William Coffin, 3d.	James Asby
Richard Smith	Joseph Taylor	John Inman
John Atkinson	Archibald McNeil	Richard Sherwin
Nathaniel Cary	Robert Jarvis	Andrew Barclay
Samuel H. Sparhawk	James Hall	William Knutten
Edward Foster	John Berry	William Perry
Edward Cox	Hugh Tarbet	David Mitchelson
Thomas Aylwin	Abraham Ellison	Richard Hiron
Ebenezer Bridgham	Patrick McMaster	Nath. Coffin, jun.
John Jarvis	Joseph Wilson	Samuel Minot
George Spooner	Frederick Roberts	Archibald Wilson
William Blair	John Agling	Hawes Hatch
Harrison Gray, jun.	Benja. M. Holmes	William Codner
James Anderson	Henry Leddel	Edward King
Phillip Demaresque	Jonathan Snelling	William Burton
John Cotton	Theophilus Lillie	Hopestil Capen
George Brindley	John Semple	Greg. Townsend
Thomas Brindley	William Dickson	Ziphion Thayer
John Coffin	Henry Laughton	Henry Lee
Colborn Barrell	John Greenlaw	Peter Hughes
James Forest	John Winslow, jun.	Samuel Hughes
William Apthorp	Edward Stow	Benjamin Phillips
John Gore	John White	Nath. Greenwood
Adino Paddock	Nathaniel Hurd	John Burroughs, jun.
John Joy	William Cazneau	George Lush
Joseph Scott	Martin Gay	William Hunter
A. F. Phillips	John Haskins	Samuel Greenwood
Samuel Rogers	William Jackson	William Hutchins
Joseph Green	William M'Alpine	

Sold in Queen-Street.

Judge METCALF made the following communication: —

In the Journal of the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts are the following entries: "April 9th, 1731. Whereas there are several expressions contained in a sermon (now in print) said to be preached at Southborough, the 21st of October last, by the Reverend Mr. John Greenwood, pastor of the Church at Rehoboth, at the ordination of the Reverend Nathan Stone, pastor of the Church in said Southborough, which the House apprehend may

have a tendency to subvert the good order of the churches and towns within the Province, — Voted, that Mr. Cooke, Mr. Welles, Mr. Lynde, Captain Goddard, and Mr. Lewis, with such as the Honorable Board shall appoint, be a Committee to consider what may be proper for this Court to do thereon, and make report as soon as may be."

"April 14th, 1731. Ordered that Mr. Wolcott go up with a message to the Honorable Board, to inquire whether they have passed on the vote of the House on the 9th instant, referring to Mr. Greenwood's sermon, — who returned he had delivered the message and was informed by Mr. Secretary that the Board Non-concurred the said vote."

The sermon of Mr. Greenwood is not in the library of this Society, nor in that of the Boston Athenæum, but is in the City Library. On examination of that sermon, it will be found to contain strong "expressions" of the authority of clergymen as "rulers" of the church, and the members ("the fraternity," as he calls them) as "subjects," who have no right to decide who shall be admitted to the church, or be excommunicated, or be affected by other discipline; but that all is exclusively under the authority of the "ruler." This, probably, was what was deemed by the House of Representatives to have the "tendency" alleged by them, and to render it "proper to do" something "thereon."

If mention of the aforesaid vote of the House of Representatives is made in any historical or other publication, it has escaped my sight.

Though, by a colony ordinance, "No injunction shall be put upon any church, in point of doctrine, discipline, or worship," — yet the practice was for the magistrates to *interpose* for the preservation of uniformity and peace in the church.

Mr. DEANE made the following communication respecting an original manuscript of Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, in the Library of this Society: —

Governor Bradford's Dialogue between Old Men and Young Men, concerning "The Church and the Government thereof."

The author of this Dialogue was William Bradford, for many years governor of the colony of New-Plymouth, and author of the History of Plymouth Plantation, published for the first time, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in

1856. The original manuscript, written in the beautiful hand of Governor Bradford, in a small volume, five inches by three in size, of about one hundred and fifty pages, is in the Library of the Historical Society.

This, it will be seen, is styled the "third conference."

The first Dialogue, or Conference, was held or written in 1648, and relates chiefly to the views of the Separatists; and gives a most interesting and valuable sketch of those who were early and prominently engaged in the religious movement which marked the rise of that sect, with many of whom Bradford was personally acquainted. A few leaves only of the original manuscript of the first conference are extant, and these are in the Library of the Historical Society. The whole, however, was copied by Secretary Morton into the records of the Plymouth Church, and was printed for the first time by Dr. Young, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, in 1841. In a note at the conclusion of the Dialogue, Dr. Young says, "Bradford continued this Dialogue in two other parts; one of which I have had in my possession, written with his own hand. The title is as follows: 'A Dialogue or 3d Conference,' &c., citing in full the title of the volume before us. As to the second conference, I have never seen it, nor any reference to it.

This Third Conference, as will be seen by the title, relates to "The Church and the Government thereof." The date, "1652," on the first leaf of the book, probably indicates the year in which it was written. Though this must be regarded as mainly an ecclesiastical discussion, it cannot be wholly devoid of interest and value in an historical point of view. Correct opinions on this subject were considered as of the first importance by our Pilgrim ancestors; and a knowledge of what one, with the experience, position, and character of Governor Bradford, thought and felt concerning the religious sects of his own day, will not be regarded with indifference by any student of our early history. Bradford was sweet-tem-

pered and heavenly-minded in his youth. Forming his religious opinions at an early age, the sincerity of his convictions was soon put to the test. The singular purity of his character received its seal in the ordeal of persecution through which he passed. He well knew what it meant to be compelled to leave his native land and the associations there dear to him, that he might worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. A firm opponent of all religious hierarchies and spiritual domination, he belonged to that sect of Christians sometimes nicknamed "Brownists," which had wholly separated from the Church of England. Brought up under the teachings of the famous Robinson (who, though a rigid Separatist at first, so far modified his views as to admit that good men might be found in all the reformed communions), Bradford became a man of large and generous views, singularly forgiving, and tolerant in his judgment of others. In treating of the Papists, his language may seem severe: he has no qualifying words; but probably his estimate of that stupendous hierarchy would not differ materially from that of the great body of Protestants to-day throughout the world,—and he cites abundant authority for his historical statements.

Congregationalism was the central thought which animated the minds of the Pilgrims, and around which clustered their hopes of securing a pure faith and worship. Firm in his convictions of the validity of that form of church government, Bradford ably defends it throughout this little treatise, as agreeing alike with the Word of God, and with the examples of the first Christians. The Protestant doctrine of the Sufficiency of the Scriptures is laid down at the beginning of the Dialogue, as a starting point in the discussion.

Under the head of "The Independent or Congregational way," in which body Bradford would include his own communion (though the name "Independent," he says, was put upon them by way of reproach), it is worthy of notice that,

for his proofs and illustrations, he draws largely from a work of John Cotton, published in 1648. This shows how fully at this time the religious opinions of the founders of the Massachusetts Colony, composed chiefly of Puritans within the Church of England who never would admit that they had left her communion, harmonized with those of the Separatists of Plymouth.

Bradford seems not to have been unmindful of the influence of his own colony in moulding the ecclesiastical constitution of the neighboring settlement. The good Plymouth physician, Deacon Samuel Fuller, had more than once been called professionally to administer to the necessities of the Massachusetts colonists in times of sickness; and on such occasions the opportunities for conferences on higher themes were not lost. He was in Charlestown in the summer of 1630, soon after the arrival there of Winthrop and his company; and in one of his letters to Governor Bradford from that place, dated June 28th, he says: "I have been at Mattapan, at the request of Mr. Warham, and let some twenty of those people blood; I had conference with them till I was weary. Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people,—godly, and openly ungodly,—upon which point we had all our conference, to which I trust the Lord will give a blessing. Here is come over with these gentlemen one Mr. Phillips (a Suffolk man), who hath told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them. The governor is a godly, wise, and humble gentleman, and very discreet, and of a fine and good temper. We have some privy enemies in the Bay, but, blessed be God, more friends. The governor hath had conference with me, both in private and before sundry others. Opposers, there is not wanting, and Satan is busy; but if the Lord be on our side, who can be against us? The governor hath told me he hoped we will not

be wanting in helping them, so I think you will be sent for. Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington, a Boston man, who told me that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was, that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them. Captain Endicott (my dear friend, and a friend to us all) is a second Barrow." * Endicott's sympathy in Fuller's views had been secured the preceding year at Salem.† This letter shows the anxiety which existed in the minds of the Plymouth people respecting the then pending question of the ecclesiastical constitution of the new colony.‡ In another letter from Fuller to Bradford, dated at Charlestown, August 2d, the writer mentions the entering into church covenant there of some of the principal persons of the settlement, according to the Congregational method. After citing this last letter in his History, Bradford concludes: "Thus out of small beginnings greater things have been produced by His hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here § kindled hath shone to many; yea, in some sort, to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise!" ||

The original manuscript of this Dialogue, as I have said, is in the Library of the Historical Society. From a memorandum on one of the leaves at the beginning of the volume, made in 1826, it appears to have been "found among

* See I. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 74, 75.

† See Bradford's History, pp. 264, 265.

‡ See Palfrey's History of New England, i. 316, 317.

§ Prince, i. 259, cites this passage from Bradford's MS. History, and says: "Gov. Bradford adding this immediately after the article [letter] of Aug. 2, it seems uncertain whether by *here* he meant *Plymouth* or *Boston* Church; though I am apt to think the latter." The following manuscript note, by Judge Davis, is written in the margin of his own copy of Morton's Memorial (*penes me*) against this citation: "I doubt the correctness of Mr. Prince's conjecture in reference to the meaning of Gov. Bradford's language in this instance. For many reasons, which might be suggested, it would appear probable, that by '*here*,' Gov. B., always a staunch Plymothean, had reference to *Plymouth*."

|| Bradford's History, p. 279.

some old papers taken from the remains of Rev. Mr. Prince's collection, belonging to the Old South Church in Boston, and by consent deposited in Library of Massachusetts Historical Society." It was not in the list of books and manuscripts deposited by the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church in 1814,—subsequently reclaimed,—and may have been placed in the Library at the date of the memorandum above cited.

A few years ago, the manuscript was copied with a view of publishing it in a volume of the "Collections"; but other matter was substituted for it. Subsequently, the Society, at my request, granted me the privilege of printing it "privately," at my own charge.* Other engagements delayed the printing of it, agreeably to this proposal; and its publication in the "Proceedings" has now been advised as a substitute for my plan, and with my entire concurrence.

Some leaves placed at the beginning and the end of this little volume furnish additional evidence of Bradford's interest in the Hebrew and Greek languages. It will be remembered that Cotton Mather says of him that, "Notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages; the Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could manage; the Latin and Greek he had mastered; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, because, he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty." Between the same covers which include the precious original manuscript History of Plymouth Plantation are some eight pages of Hebrew roots with English explanations, in Bradford's hand, to which he has prefixed the following:—

* See "Proceedings," for January, 1868.

"Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire to see, with my owne eyes, something of that most ancient language, and holy tongue, in which the Law and Oracles of God were write; and in which God and angels spake to the holy patriarks of old time; and what names were given to things from the creation. And though I cannot attaine to much herein, yet I am refreshed to have seen some glipse hereof; (as Moyses saw the land of Canaan a farr off.) My aime and desire is, to see how the words and phrases lye in the holy texte; and to discerne somewhat of the same, for my owne contente."

Two pages at the beginning of this Dialogue contain both the Hebrew and the Greek alphabet, in Bradford's hand, expressed in the original characters, with the names also of each letter spelled out in the Roman character, with some additional illustration as to long and short vowels to aid in pronunciation. Eight pages at the end (and possibly some leaves may be wanting) contain passages from the Old Testament, in Hebrew, with the English translation written underneath, from the Genevan version.

To the late Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., an Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records in London, New-England History is indebted for much new matter relating to Bradford and his associates, and the location of the Pilgrim church in England. Since the publication of his little tract on the "Founders of New-Plymouth," in 1849, the villages of Austerfield and Scrooby have been regarded as almost sacred shrines by New-England visitors to the fatherland. Dr. Palfrey refers, in his History of New England (I. 134, 135), to a visit which he made to these places in 1856.

Ten years later, under the auspices of letters from Lord Houghton, whose family domains include Austerfield, Bawtry, and Scrooby, in company with my friend, Mr. Samuel F. Haven, of Worcester, I passed a delightful day in examining these most interesting remains. We were fortunately the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lowther, of Bawtry Hall, who take a deep interest in these Pilgrim memorials, and who afforded us every facility in the examination of them. They earnestly wish that a New-England school could be established at Austerfield, the birthplace of Bradford, as an appropriate tribute to the memory of the Plymouth Governor. What more fitting memorial could his descendants erect to his honor than a Grammar School, on the New-England model, in the village of his birth?

The visitor looks with interest on the little church or "chapellerie," with its curious old side doorway of early Norman date; its oaken rail before the chancel, at which Bradford received the waters of baptism, two hundred and eighty years ago;* and at the ancient "Register Booke," where we read, "William sone of Willm Bradfourth baptized the xixth day of March Anno dñi, 1589."

Mr. Hunter has shown, from various documents, that the family of Bradford was, at this time, among the most respectable in that part of the country. "One thing is clear," he says: "that the Bradfords of Austerfield, during the eighteen years that he who was afterwards the governor of New Plymouth was living with them, associated with the best of the very slender population by whom they were surrounded."†

In the village of Scrooby, near by, a farm house of curious construction is pointed out as the probable residence of Brewster, and the place where were held the meetings of the Separatists of that neighborhood, including the youthful Bradford,

* See Palfrey's *History of New England*, I. 134, note.

† Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, p. 49.

before their escape into Holland. It may have been originally connected with the manor-house, which has long since passed away.

Descriptions of Austerfield and Scrooby, in connection with Pilgrim history, have been made within a few years, from personal observation, by W. H. Bartlett, in "The Pilgrim Fathers, or, The Founders of New England," London, 1853; by Dr. Palfrey in his "History of New England," Boston, 1858; and by the Rev. John Raine, vicar of Blyth, in "The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth," London, 1860.

I have fancied that there were many points of resemblance between the character of Bradford, the leading man in the Plymouth colony, and that of his friend Winthrop, the leading man of the Massachusetts colony. Certainly there was much in common in their public career, and in the estimation in which they were held by their contemporaries. Perhaps Bradford's popularity in Plymouth was even more firmly grounded than that of Winthrop in Massachusetts. From 1621 to 1657, the year of his death, he had but five years' release from the office of Chief Magistrate. That is to say, of the thirty-seven years of his residence in the colony, he was its governor thirty years. He had no desire for the office except so far as it afforded him an opportunity for serving the colony. Up to 1624 he had had but one Assistant. At the beginning of that year he records:—

"The time of the new election of their officers for this year being come, and the number of their people increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith, the Governor desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election; and also to add more Assistants to the Governor for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of affairs. Showing that it was necessary it should be so. If it was any honour or benefit, it was fit others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was), it was but equal others should help to bear it; and that this was the end* of annual elections. The issue

* That is, the purpose or object.

was, that as before there was but one Assistant, they now chose five, giving the Governor a double voice; and afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued to this day."

Bradford, however, was not suffered to retire, but was continued governor by annual election till 1633; when, as Winthrop says, "by importunity he gat off," and Edward Winslow* was elected for that year. †

Bradford was not only the historian of the colony, but his pen was constantly employed in conducting the correspondence, in keeping for many years the public records, and in other official duties. If the original manuscript of the compact signed on board the Mayflower on the 11th (21st N.S.) of November should ever come to light, we should expect to find it in Bradford's hand. His penmanship is most beautiful, the letters carefully formed, and the writing as easily read as the printed page. Such is the little treatise from which we here print, and such throughout is the condition of the manuscript History of the colony, which I had the pleasure, through the kindness of the Bishop of London, of examining in the Fulham Library four years since. Bradford's chirography is in singular contrast to that of Governor Winthrop, whose manuscripts are as sealed books, to be deciphered only by the initiated.

In preparing this Dialogue for the press, I have been careful to preserve the original spelling of the author; but I have taken some liberty in the punctuation and in the use of capitals.

* In regard to Edward Winslow, one of the most accomplished residents of the Old Colony, and perhaps of New England, in his day, it should be remembered that his commercial and diplomatic duties kept him in almost constant employment, and often away from home. He visited England a number of times as well on service for the Massachusetts Colony as for his own government; and from his visit of 1646 he never returned to the colony. He died in 1655 in the service of the Protector. Winthrop (II. 253) speaks "of his abilities of presence, speech, courage, and understanding."

† About this time a law was enacted, reciting that whoever refused to execute the office of Governor after election, unless he had held the place the foregoing year, should be amerced in twenty pounds sterling fine; and whoever refused the office of Assistant should be fined ten pounds.

I may add that my desire to consult all the books used and cited by Bradford as proofs and illustrations in writing this treatise has not been gratified. Some of these I could not find in any public or private library in this neighborhood. I have referred, in a note on pages 409, 410, to one of them which I consulted in the British Museum. I had hoped to find, by the inventory of his estate, that the larger part of the volumes had been in the possession of Bradford; but having had a list of the books there returned, and having also consulted the inventory of Brewster's estate, I can say that but few of the books are described in either. In Bradford's list one item is rendered, "three and fifty small bookes," which might have included some of those I was seeking.

Following this little "composure" on church government, as here furnished, are two pieces of composition in verse by the same author, one of which, "A Word to Plymouth," I believe has never been printed. The other, entitled "Some observations of God's merciful dealing with us in this Wilderness," &c., is now given entire for the first time. These are preserved here, not on account of their poetical beauties, — for to Bradford the Muses were not propitious, — but for the historical intimations which they contain. A foot-note, on pages 465, 466, will give the necessary information respecting these "sundry useful verses" of the Plymouth governor.

יְהוָה אֱהַבְתִּי מַעֲוֹן בִּיתָהּ וּמִקֹּמוֹם מִשְׁכַּן כְּבוֹדָהּ
פס"א: 26. 5.

יְהוָה מִנֵּת חֻלְקִי

פס"א: 16. 5.

וְשָׂגַתִּי קֶהָר מִרְעִים
פס"א: 26. 5. ו.

A Dialogue

Or 3. Conference, betweene some
yonge-men borne in New-England;
and some ancient-men, which came
out of Holand, and old England
concerning the
Church.

And the gouernments therof. ו. ו. ו.

— yonge-men —

Gentle-men, we hope you will pardon
our bouldnes, in that we haue impor-
tuned you to giue vs meeting once
more in this kind, for our instructi-
on, & establisshments in the truth.
We find that many, and great are the
controuersies, which haue risen in these
later times, about the Church, and y^e
gouernments therof; and much trouble
and disturbance hath growne in the

A DIALOGUE

Or 84 Conference betweene some Yonge-men borne in New-England, and some Ancient-men, which came out of Holand and Old England, concerning the Church, and the Gouvernments therof.

YONGE-MEN.

GENTLE-MEN, we hope you will pardon our bouldnes, in that we haue importuned you to giue vs meeting once more in this kind, for our instruction & establishmente in the truth.

We find that many and great are the controuersies which haue risen in these later times, about the Church, and the Gouvernments thereof; and much trouble and disturbance hath growne in the world therby, and doth still remaine to this day. That we may know, therefore, how groundedly the better to setle our judgments and practise in so weighty a mater, we humbly craue your best judgment and aduise. We conceiue this controuersie lyes chiefly amongst 4 sorts of men.

The Papists,

The Episcopacie,

The Presbiterians, and

The Independants, as they are caled.

And we doe entreat you, therefore, to speake some thing to these in order, for our information; that we may the better discerne wher the truth lyes, that we may be confirmed in the same, and the more inabled to oppose the contrary.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall in the first place comend this necessarie consideration vnto you, (which we desire you may carrie all along with you in this whole controuersie) that the true church and the proper gouernments* of the same, is to be knowne by the scriptures, and to be measured

* At the top of the page over this line, in the original MS., Bradford had subsequently written: "In sacrosancta scriptura existat fundamentum ecclesiæ dei." — Ed.

only by that rule, the primatiue paterne; which church & the gouernement of the same is sufficiently described and layed down in the writings of the apostles and euangelists. For which, take the testimonie of that reuerend-man, M^r Jeuell.* Christ and his apostles " (saith he) appointed the church in their time in such sorte as no "beter could be deuised; let vs therfore (saith he) compare the church "of the later time, with the originall; as we vse in trying of measures, "by the standard; for if ther be any falt, the stander will bewray it.

2^d? Remember that Christ is the only king and lawgiuer of the church; which is his house and kingdom. *Extra bibliam non est veritas infallibilis.*

YONG-MEN.

Are ther any to be found, that are so impudent to denye these things? It is not meete that any should vsurpe vpon the Lord's royall dignitie and prerogatiue, and impose their owne word & law instead of his.

ANCIENT MEN.

They ought not indeede to be thus presumptuous (as you well say), but you will find it otherwise.

For the Papists hold, and bouldly affirme, that the church is not known by the word of God; but the word of God is knowne by the church. And vpon this ground it was that in the Councill of Basell the Cardinall Cusanus (the pops legate) maintained that the church is not knowne by the gospell, but the gospell by the church.

YOUNG MEN.

How doe they describ this church, & what power & authority doe they giue thereto?

ANCIENT-MEN.

They calle it the Roman-Catholick-Church, and say it is the only true church, out of which ther is no saluation. And that it is an vniuersall, visible-church, ouer whom the pope is visible head and Christs vickar. And that this Romane church is mother and mistres of all churches; and (by the Lord's ordinance) hath principality of ordinary power aboue all others, as being the mother and mistres of all Christian belieuers. And (say they) as Peter was the prince of the apostls, and head (and rock) of the church, to whom the keyes of the

* John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, born 1522, died 1571; a learned prelate and most voluminous writer. — Ed.

kingdom of heauen were giuen, (the rest of the apostls being (say they) as it were but legats, and in subordination vnder him), so the pope is the head of this church, (as Peter's successor); to whom power is giuen ouer all Christian princes, and all their people, as being Christs vicar ouer all peopell, and the vniuersall church of Christ. See Triple-Cord, Fol: 181. & .211.

2^v. They hold that this church cannot erre in those things which are necessary to saluation; and he that shall not follow her authority in faith & maners is as if he had denyed God and is worse than an Infidele. See Triple-Cord, fol: 62.

3^v. This church (viz. the pope and his counsell) must define what the word of God is, & what they haue defined & determined herein you shall see at large in the counsell of Trent, wher they make the Apocriphall bookes authentike, and of equall athority with the canonicall Scriptures, of Moyses, the prophits and apostls. Also, vn-written traditions they make equall with the word written; for so saith the aforesaid author, fol: 153. The pope and counsell of Trente (saith he) receiueh and reueren[c]eth with like pietie the word written and vnwritten, viz. traditions.

4^v. And yet this is not all, for they hold it belongeth to this church only to iudg of the true sence & interpretation of the holy scriptures; vpon which they hold and affirme that the pope hath power to interpret, declare, and lay forth, the holy scriptures, after his owne will; and to suffer no man to expound it otherwise. & by the church (saith the former author) we vnderstand the (pope) the supreme pastor thereof, with a counsell of other bishops & doctors; and whatsoever they decree and propose to the whole church to be beleened, that we firmly beleue to be most true & infallible. Fol: 23.

5^v. They weaken the authority of the scriptures very much, as may appear by many bould (if not blasphemus) assertions, as, that the holy ghoste did not comand or intend that the apostles and euanglists should write all needfull point of faith; and that none, or all of them, euer did performe the same. See the Triple-Cord, fol: 165. (We aledge this author so often; not but that we might produse many other for the like things; but that it is a late worke sett out by some Jesuits, & dedicated to the gentrie & nobility of Great Britaine.)*

* The title-page of this book is as follows:—

"The Triple Cord, or a Treatise proving the Truth of the Roman Religion, By Sacred Scriptures, Taken in the Literal Sense, Expounded by Ancient Fathers, Interpreted by Protestant Writers. With A Discovery of sundry subtle Sights vsed by Protestants,

Another assertion of this author is, that it is most certaine that the originals are in some places corrupted. And no less certaine (saith he) that sundrie parts of the Scriptures are yet to this day wanting. Fol: 150. & 157.

From whence they make this conclusion; that it is the word which is placed in the moueths of bishops and preists, which shall neuer perish: alledging ·1· Pet ·1· 25. & Mal ·2· 7. Isa ·59· Vlt.

Which, certainly, saith the author, we no-wher find to be promised to the word written.

for euading the force of strongest Arguments, taken from clearest Texts of the foresaid Scriptures. Si quispiam præualuerit contra vnum, duo resistent ei: Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur; Eccles. 4. 12. If any may prevaile agaynst one, two resist him: A triple Cord is hardly broken. Permissum Superiorum, M.DC.XXXIII."

The running title is "The Triple Cord." On the leaf following the title-page is "The Epistle Dedicatory; To the Protestant Nobility of Great Britaine," signed "N. N." Then follows "The Preface to the Protestant Reader." The book is a thick quarto of 801 pp., besides the prefaces and "tables."

All my attempts to find a copy of this book failed, until, in 1866, I inspected one in the British Museum. (I had previously learned, through the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D., of Boston, the accomplished historical scholar and divine, that the author of "The Triple Cord" was Lawrence Anderton; and, subsequently to this, from the same source, that a copy of the book was in the British Museum). On the title-page of this copy is this manuscript note: "by Lawrence Anderton: printed at St. Omers. See Dodd,* vol. 3. p. 100." Also, at foot: "1634. The author died 17 April, 1643." On a blank leaf, at the beginning of the volume, is the following, written by a former owner, "John Egan: " "The author was Lawrence Anderton, born in Lancashire, learnt the rudiments of his education at Blackburn, and was afterwards sent to Cambridge, where he was a great favorite, and from his sprightly genius and fluent eloquence was commonly called 'silver-mouthed Anderton.' Being much addicted to controversy he could not get over some difficulties regarding the Reformation, which at last ended in his being received into the Catholic Church. He afterward went to Rome, where he became a Jesuit, and was a great ornament to that illustrious body. He afterwards resided in his native country, Lancashire, where he was highly esteemed for his preaching, and admirable character. He was the author of, 2. 'The Progeny of Catholics & Protestants,' 4to, Rouen, 1632. 3. A Treatise entitled 'One God, one Faith,' with the letters W B. prefixed, 8vo; 1625."

This note is continued on a leaf at the end of the volume: "The Rev. Dr. Oliver, in his Collections for the Biography of the Members of the Society of Jesus, states that the author had been a minister of the Protestant Church before his conversion. He became a novice in 1604, æt. 28, and shone in the sequel amongst the most exalted names in the English Province. He died on the 17th of April, 1643, aged 67. In speaking of the work, The Triple Cord, Dr. Oliver says: I suspect [the author of] this is the chaplain of the Earl of Essex, whom F. Gerard received into his house in London, and who assigned 3 reasons for adopting the Institute of St. Ignatius. 1. Because it was detested more than the other religious orders by Heretics and the wicked of all classes. 2. Because it foreclosed all hopes of church preferment. 3. Because it especially cherished the practice of Obedience." — ED.

* Charles Dodd (psud.), "Church History of England," &c., by Richard Tootle, 1737-42.—ED.

6^r. We may add hereunto how they haue preffered the vulgar Latin translation about the originals, and made it authentick in the trials of all doctrins and controuersies, though it is knowne to be very corrupte.

And yet they thinke not themselues saue enough (by all this prouission) but they endeavor what they can to keepe the Scriptures shut vp in an vnknowne tongue; so greatly are they affraid of the light of the same.

YONGE-MEN.

Alas, if these things be admitted, what mischeefe will not follow? This is to aduance man aboue God, a lye aboue the truth; the word of a mortall & corrupte mā aboue the word of the eternall, liuing God, whose word is truth, wheras all men are lyers; for if this church be such a souraign lady to cāmand ouer all the Christians in the world, as the only spouse of Christ, and the pope her head (in whom lyes all the power, as Christ pretended vickar) which cannot erre; and for this her owne testimoney, only, must be taken; will not the great whor say as much? Reu: 17.

Againe, if they may make such fables as Tobit, Judith, &c. cañonicall scripture, and make a nose of waxe of the rest, to interprete them as they please, without controule; and their vnwritten traditions, to pas for currente coyne; and not the written word of God, but the word that is in the mouthes of their bishops and shauen preists to be permenent & neuer to perish; they may make religion to be what they please, and make the blind world beleine what they list; and impose their owne lusts for laws; and lead men hoodwinkte, whither they will. If ther were no more in poperie but what you haue here laide downe, it might be sufficient to make any to abhorre this popish religion, or to looke towards the same, which is thus dirogatorie to the honour of God, and [h]is word.

ANCIENT-MEN.

You may well say so, when you shall see what they build on those foundations; and what conclusions they draw from these principles.

YONGE-MEN.

We pray you to open the same further vnto vs, that we may see more into this misterie of iniquity, and may be strengthened against the deceits and errours of the same.

ANCIENTE-MEN.

We shall shew you what that great learned man, Du Plessis, hath noted in his booke called the Mistrie of Iniquitie. The canonists &

other magnifiers of the pope & church of Rome (saith he) affirme that Christ, whilst he liued, he was head of the church militante, but when he dyed, Peter was head, and since Peeter's death, the pops of Rome his successors.

1. And the pope, (say they) is Christ's vickar, not only in earthly but celestiall and infernall things, euen ouer the angels, both good and bad; he may excommunicate the angels them selues.

2. All the whole world is his diocesse. God and he hath but one consistorie; Christ and he but one tribunall.

3. The pops will is the rule of justice; what he doth God houlds it well done. The square, hee may make round; right, of that which is wrong, and some thing of that which is nothing. He is about all laws, about all decrees, cannons & counsels, and may be contrarie vnto them.

4. Nay, (say they) the Lord should not haue been discreete had he not left such a vicar behind him that could doe all these things. Du Plessis. *Mist. Iniq*: fol: 454.*

He further declares, out of some of their gloses, that they affirme and say that the pope is more then a man, and say of him, Thou greatest of all things, thou art neither God nor man, but some intermediant power. Yea, some call him our Lord God, the pope. Yea, (saith he) others recomēd him for a God vnto vs, and that in essence. Would euer any haue beleueed such things (saith he) if the spirit of God had not foretould as much of antichrist. Fol: 454.

And yet, as if they had not vttered blasphemie enough, they say he may dispence against the apostls as their superiour; and against the Old Testament, in that he is greater then all the authors of the same.

And least these things should be thought too much to be beleueed of some pops that be wicked or vnworthy men (as many haue been knowne to be), they aledge a decree mentioned by Gratian, wherin it is affirmed that none are made pops but such as are worthy; or if they

* The edition of this work used by Bradford has the following title-page, as per copy in the Library of the Historical Society:—

"The Myserie of Iniquitie, That is to say, The Historie of the Papacie: Declaring by what degrees it is now mounted to this height, and what Oppositions the better sort from time to time have made against it. Where is also defended the right of Emperours, Kings, and Christian Princes against the assertions of the Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronises. By Philip Morney, Knight, Lord du Plessis, &c Englished by Samson Lennard. . . . London, Printed by Adam Islip, Anno Dom. 1612; fol. 662 pp."

The work was published in French the year before, and also about the same time in Latin. The translator had a copy of each before him while engaged on his English version. The author, an illustrious French Protestant, and Privy Counsellor of Henry IV., was born in 1549, and died in 1623. — Ed.

be not, so soone as they enter into that seate, by vertu trāsmited from Sainet Peter vnto them, it maketh them worthy. Fol: 81.

And amongst the dictats of Gregorie the .7. it is said, that a pope canonically ordained, is vndoubtedly made holy by the merit of S^t. Peter. Fol: 243. So, as you may see, these juglers prouid a salue for euery sore.

But let vs add hereunto what Pareus hath noted on Reu: in Chap. 9.* The fathers of the Lateran councell (saith he) gaue this plaspemus applause to the pope:

Thou art all things, and aboue all things; to thee is giuen all power in heauen, and in earth.

And againe by another in the same place.

By thy vnerring word, thou rulest ouer all;
And fitt it is a God on earth men should thee call."

Hence is it that in the .40. Dist: "Si pape", they call the pope a God vpon earth, ouer all heauenly, earthly, ghostly, & worldly things; and he is all his owne, and no man may say, What doest thou? And though he were so euill that he should lead innumerable heaps of men into hell; yet may no man reprove him for it, and say, What dost thou? From hence it is also that they draw these conclusions:

1. That the seat of Rome giues strength to all laws, but is subjecte to none.

2. And Paule the .2. affirmed that the pope carries within the circuite of his owne breste all deuine and humane laws.

3. That no man may iudge the pope, nor giue any sentence aboue his, but he shall iudge all men vpon the earth.

4. That he may depose kings and disanule the alegeance of their subjects, and set vp whom he pleases.

5. That he hath authority to breake all oaths, bonds & obligations, made betweene man & man, of high or low degree. Doct Barns, fol: 186.

6. The canonists hould that no man may dispute the pops power, and ther is a law amonge the pops decrees for that purpose.

* The work here cited is "A Commentary vpon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist Iohn. By David Pareus: sometimes Professor of Diuinity in the Uniuersitie of Heidelberg . . . Translated out of the Latine into English, by Elias Arnold. Amsterdam. Printed by C. P. Anno MDCLXIV." (1644.)

A copy is in Harvard College Library. The work was originally published in Latin, in 1628, six years after the author's death. Pareus was a celebrated diuine of the Reformed Religion, and was born at Silesia in 1548.—Ed.

YONG-MEN.

These things which you haue rehersed, maks vs almost to tremble that any mortall men should dare thus to lift vp them selues, and arrogate such things vnto them as cañot belonge to any mortall creature. Surely this is the very voyce of antichrist thus to aduance him selfe aboue all that is called God; and that very mouth that speaketh great and blasphemus things. Reu: 13. 5.

But let vs hear, (we pray you) how they haue improued this power, and carried, in the execution of the same.

ANCIENT-MEN.

They haue corrupted (hereby) all sound doctrine, and made the church to grone vnder the burthen of their traditions and vile ceremonies, which they haue multiplied aboue measure; and changed or corrupted (in a maner) all the ordinances of God; and imposed the pops laws, cañons, decrees & decretals, vpon the consciences of men, in stead of the word & law of God; and made all, both high & low, to bow downe vnder the burden of the same; establishing a lordly & powerful hirarchie of Cardinals, Archbishop, Lord Bishops, Abats, & Archdeacons; preists, parsons, vicars, deans, canons, prebands; and monkes & friers, &c. euen almost without number; all of them, the sworne vassals of the pope, bound to him by an oath of canonically obedience, to be ministers vnder him, to execute this exorbitante power with all rigore, as he should please and comānd; sending his legats and emissaries to all princes courts, and other places, with his bulls and mandats to signifie his pleasure, and requir obedience vnto the same. And if performance was not according to his mind & pleasure, then followed thundering threatenings of excommunications and intredictions, and execution of the same; euen vpon kings and keisears & their whole kingdoms. Which not only made the world to wonder, but to quake & tremble at this stupendious power, and say, who is able to make warr with the beast?

He tooke the impire from the Greciās and gaue it to the French. And after from the French he transferd it to the Germans. Gregorie .2. excommunicated Leo, the emperour, & depriued him of his reuenues. Pope Zacharie deposed Childrich, king of France. Leo the .3. depriued the Grecian emperour of the westerne impire. Alexander the .3. made Frederick the .1. lye downe, and prowdly trampled on his necke, before he would be reconciled vnto him. Gregorie the .7. displaced Henerie the .4. He was twize excommuni-

ented; and he and his empres, with their yong sone, made to waite at the pops gate, bare footed, in the sharp time of winter, fasting from morning tile night, humbly craueing absolution. Thus he continued for .3. days. The .4. day he gott admittance. But after all this, by an other pope, (Pascales the .2.) he was deposed, who sent certaine bishops to dispoyle him of his crowne and emperiall ornaments. And, when they tooke them from him, he asked them the reason; they said it was the pops pleasure. Afterwards he was by necessitie constrained to begg a prebands place of the bishope of Spire (whom he had aduancte and done much for), but he denyed him. So he, pore prince, went to Leige, and died for sorrow, after he had reigned .50. years. And yet this proud & cruell pope was not satisfied, but caused his body to be diged vp out of the graue, and to remaine .5. years vnburied. Inocent the .3. thrust out Otho the .4. Inocent the .4. tooke the empire from Frederick the .2. Clement the .6. excommunicated Lodowick the .4. and Julyus the .2. deprived the king of Nauar of his kingdom; and our king John was forct to resigne his crowne and kingdom to Pandolfe, the pops legate, & become his vassal & fewderarie. Many more instances might be giuen, euen enough to fill a volume; but we will only add, how Clement the .5., to pacifie his furie, caused Francis Dandalus, the Venetion ambasadoure, to haue a chaine of iron tyed aboute his necke, and to lye downe vnder the pops table, ther, like a dogge, to catch the bones which fell from the table, vntill the pops fury was asswaged to absolue them. Now, surely, we beleeeue they can neuer show that euer Peter did such a thing, or had kings & emperours to wait vpon him; some to lead his horse, others to hold his stirupe, and all to fall downe before him & kise his feete.

YONG-MEN.

No verily, we beleeeue (if we may credite the scriptures) these cañot be Peters successors, but that antichrist, the man of sine, which aduanceth him selfe aboue all that is called God. But we pray you to proceed to some other points of this churchs doctrine.

ANCIENT-MEN.

1. They teach their disciples and all their people to beleeeue as the church beleeeues; and by an implicite faith to rest in what the popo and his counsell dictats vnto them, which is coherent with the former grounds. If they tell them it is so and so defined, it is enough for them without further search.

2^d. In stead of edifying them with sound doctrine from the word of

God in the scriptures, they feede them with fables out of their lying legends, filled with foolish fancies and lying miracles, and other such apocriphall stufe.

3^y. They teach them to worship images, and fall downe before stocks and stons; and tell them they are the layemens books, in, or by which, they are to read & learn their Catholick doctrine & religion. Yea, the 8th generall councell, in An^o 871^o not only allowed the worshiping of images, but comāded that the image of Christ shouldbe houlden in no les reuerence then the books of the gospell. And the author of the Triple-Cord saith, that images haue a more perfecte and nearer relation to God then the Arke (of his Couenant) had. Fol: 381^o and that the image of Christ is the same to the eye, that the name of Jesus is to the eare 385^o. But aboue all they make an abhominable idole of the mass, and worship their breaden God; the bearing witnes against which hath cost the blood of so many martires (which are still fresh in memory) in our fore fathers days.

4^y. They joyne other mediators with Christ, espetically the virgine Mary, whom they call the queene of Heauen. Ther is no fauor so great but is obtained of her, no necessitie so pressing which she takes not away. To her they sing this song of praise:

Thou art the hope of comfortles,
True mother of the fatherlesse,
A comfort to the pore in thrall,
The sick, a sure salue haue thee shall,
To all things thou art all in all.

Thus (saith Pareus, in Reu: foll: 300^o) they make Mary the hauen & helper of all men vnto saluation.

Yea, they doe in a sort equall her milke with Christs blood. As,

Thus in the mothers milke I will the Sone his blood infuse,
Then which a beter antidote I cannot surely vse.
O when shall I thy sweet breasts suck, and with thy wounds fed be,
Injoy thy duggs, thy wounds, O Christ, euen such felicity?

And they sing this antheime publicly in their churches

O happy mother of that Sonne
Which hast all our sinnes foredone;
Out of a mothers right we pray thee,
Bid our Redeemer to obey thee.

Yea, she is called the queene of mercy, who hath broken the serpents head. And Pope Leo the 10th by his secretary, (saith Du Plesis) calleth her *Deam*, a goddesse.

Yea (saith he), I fear & tremble at the consideration of her psalter; wherein all that which David hath spoken of God the father, the sone, and the holy ghost, is applyed vnto her, and that without any maner of exception, throughout, euen from the begining to the end, changing Dominum, into Domina; the lord into the lady; as, Blessed is the man that loueth Mary, that feareth her, that praiseth her name, that trusteth in her, that hopeth in her, &c. Haue mercie vpon me O mother of mercie, and wash me from all my iniquities. Come let vs worship the Lady; let vs praise the Virgin that hath saued vs; let vs worship her, and let vs confesse our sins vnto her, &c. Du-Plessisse of the Mass, fol: 333.*

And for other their canonized saincts, they ascribe ·7· things to belong to them.

First, to be publickly declared for saincts, by the pope.

2.^v to be inuocated in the prairs of the church.

3.^v to haue churches & altars.

4.^v an office, & sacrifice in honour of them.

5.^v a festiull day.

6.^v an image with lights, in signe of glorie.

The ·7· reliks and shrines.

These (with many others) they worship and inuocate, and vtter many blasphemies in their idolatrous praises. We shall only instance in two or ·3· of them. And first in their St. Francis, who, (they say) is a more worthy person than John Baptist. John was a forerunner of Christ, but Francis both a forerunner & standerd bearer. John was the friend of the bridgroom, but Francis like vnto the bridgroom him selfe. Againe, (say they) though John was highly aduante, yet, Francis was aboue him, for he was lift vp into the place from which Lucifer was throwne, & lodged in Christ's side, &c. Yea, (say they) he is better then all the apostles, for they forsooke nothing for Christ, but some little ship; but he forsooke all, euen to his hosen. This man, (say they) is the image of Christ, as Christ is the image of the Father. He is *via vitæ*, the way of life; & he that dyeth in his habite, is a happy man, yea if he haue but his hand in the sleeue of it. Baptisme doth wash away originall sinne, but the hooe of St. Francis

* The English version of this work has the following title, as per Lowndes's Bibliog. Manual: "Fowre Books of the Institutions, Vse and Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the old Church; as likewise how, when, and by what Degrees the Masse is brought in, in Place thereof. Translated by R. S., London, 1600, folio." The work first appeared in French, in 1598, and in Latin, in 1605. — Ed.

much more. If you resolute to continue to wear it, it is worth as much to you as a new baptizing, yea, rather a new abolishment, not of originall sine only, but of all maner of actuall sines. Du-Plessis of the Mass*. fol: 337.

And their St Dominick comes not much behind; for the Archbishop Antonine, (saith Du Plesia) poiseth his mirackles, not against St. Francis, but against Christs. Christ, (saith he) raised but .3. from death, at all; but Dominick at Rome only raised as many; and .40. more nere to Tholosa, which were drowned on horse-back in the riuer Garona, besids infinite others. All power in heauen & in earth is giuen vnto Christ, and this power was in no small measure bestowed on Dominick, ouer all things in heauen, earth and hell, & that euen in this life; for he had angels to attend vpon and serue him, the elements obeyed him, and the deuils trembled vnder him. The Lord saith, I am the Light of the world, and the church singeth of Dominick, Thou art the Light of the world. Christ, after his resurection, went into his disciples, the dores being shut; but Dominick whilst he bare about this mortall body, which is much more, went into the temple, the dors being shut. Paul and the Apostls induced and perswaded men to beleene; but Dominick, to obserue the counsels, which is a shorter course & cutt to saluation. Thus, (saith Du Plesias,) they still giue him the better, both of Christ and the Apostles. Fol: 336.

The next that we shall name, was our St. Thomas Becket, who was canonized by Alexander the .3.; an[d] in the derision of the blood of Christ, was praid vnto in these words, (with other blasphemies :) That, by the grace & fauor purchased by the blood of Thomas, he would make vs ascend whither Thomas is ascended.

And how his shrine was both adord and adored, our histories do declare; being flocked vnto by all sorts of persons, being more honoured and prayed vnto then God himselfe. Of Christ and all his apostls and prophets, are not written so many great miracles as of this our Becket, (saith M^r Bale,); as that* so many sick, blind, lame, croked, bedrid, leprouse, sorrowfull, excited, imprisoned, hanged, drowned, and dead, were by them deliuered, as by him.

Yea, King Henery went as a humble penitent in pilgrimage to his toombe, and resigned his power vpon their high altar, and consented to their vsurped liberties; and being all naked, saue a pair of lining

* He means, "As that not so many sick, lame," &c. — ED.

breeches vpon his nether parts, receiued of the monks a disciplin with rods in their chapter house; and was glad he scaped so. Bale, in his *Acts of English Votaries*.*

By these few instances you may see how idolatrusly they worshiped, & prayed vnto their saincts; not only equeliseng them with God & Christ, but often ascribing more honour vnto them then to the Lord him selfe. And yet of many of them, it may be justly doubted, they were rather miserable wretches in hell, then saincts in heauen.

We may also add, how they not only thus joyned them with God in their praies & inuocations, but also swore by their names, some times singly, and sometimes joyntly with God; as, by God, and our Lady; and, So help me God, & all saincts, &c.

All which considered, made Lodouicus Viues, (an ingenuous Papist) confess, that he could find no difference betwixte the opinione that the Christians haue of their saincts, & that which the Pagans haue of their Gods; when as they giue them the same honour, that is giuen to God him self. Viues, in August: de Ciuit: Dei: l. 8. C. vii. †

5.7 They rest not vpon Christ and his righteousnes & merits only for justification & saluation, but vpon their owne works & merits, (at least in part) and vpon the praies & merits of saincts, and the popes pardons, &c.

Nay, that which is more, by their works of supererrogation, to deserue & merit for others; which being added vnto the merits of Christ, doe augmente the treasure of the church; which the pope, (as Lord Treasurer) doth, by his indulgences, so prodigally dispencc, esppecially for money.

* John Bale or Baleus, Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, a voluminous writer, was born in Suffolk, 1495, and died 1563. The work cited in the text is entitled: "*Actes of English Votaries, comprehendinge their vnchast Practyses and Examples by all Ages, from the Worlides Begynnyng to thys present Yeare, collected out of their owne Legends and Chronycles*. Wesel, 1546, 8vo." Black letter. This is probably the first edition. A later edition, in two parts, 16mo, printed, as appears by the last leaf of Part I, in 1560, is in the Library of the Boston Athenæum. It once belonged to the Rev. Thomas Prince, and bears his autograph, with "Sudbury, June 1. 1713."—Ed.

† "*De Civitate Dei*." This, the most popular and famous of the works of Saint Augustine, was first printed in 1467. "*Monasterio Sublacensi Conradus Sweynheym, et Arnoldus Pannartz die vero 12, mensis Julii, MCCCCLXVII. fol.*" It went through numerous editions. In 1522 was printed the edition with the commentary of Joan: Ludovicus Vives, which Bradford quotes in the text. An English translation was printed in 1610; and a second, and the best, edition, in 1620. Vives was one of the revivers of literature, and famous for his learning. He was born at Valencia in Spain, in 1492, and died at Bruges, according to some accounts, in 1541. (See Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*.)—Ed.

As for their other doctrins, of purgatorie, penance, pilgrimages, crossings, censings, praying vpon beads for the liuing & the dead, worshiping of reliicks, and a number more (too tedious to relate), we refferr you to others who treate of them at large.

Yet we may not forgett their forbiddings of mariage, and meats, which the scriptures call doctrines of diuels; and what horrible euils haue growen therby, to the dishonoure of God, & violation of his laws!

They count it sine for their clergie to marie, yea, they call it the heresie of the Nicolaitans; that which the scriptures call honourable, they repute vile and impure, wresting that scripture against mariage: They which are in the flesh canot please God. And frame this goodly reason, that as the Lord would be conceiued in the womb of a virgine, so would he be receiued at the altar with vnpoluted and virgins hands. And Vrbanus the Second was not contented to punish those that were married, and force them to put away their wiues; but ordained that their wiues should become slaues to the prince, or lord, whose subjects they were.

YONGE-MEN.

We haue heard enough of their idolatrie and superstition, and allso of their hereticall and erroneous doctrins, to make vs loath and abhorre the same. We pray you to let vs hear something of their maners in their liues & conuersations, espetially of their holy clergie, who seeme to pretend this virgine puritie, and in respecte of others are called spirituall, and religious, most holy, reuerend, venerable, &c.

ANCIENT-MEN.

To satisfie your requeste we shall only mention a few things, of many, which graue-authors haue published to the world, and left in writing, to the view of all.

And hear, in the first place, what Pareus hath noted in Reu: Chap. .6. fol: 125. Baleus, (saith he) hath distributed these antichristian popes from Boniface vnto Julius the .2. (that is from the year .606. vnto the year .1513.) into fve distinct classes or orders; who, for the most part (as Genebardus, a Popish writer of their owne conf[e]seth) were magicians, sorcerers, atheists, adulterers, murderers, wicked, perjured and impure; not apostolicall, but apostatical and hereticall men. Thus farr he, being one of their owne.

Againe, (saith Pareus) Rome is an abhominable warehouse of all spirituall and corporall fornications. In the citie it selfe, filthy lusts not to be named are comonly and freely comited, nourished, and com-

mended, and gaine made therof. If any doubt, let him read histories, (saith he) or goe to Rome, and he shall find the truth of that which Petrarcha complaines of, viz. that deflowring, rauishing, incests and adulteries, are but a sporte to the pontificall lasciuiousnes.

And he shall find that of Mantuan,* (one of their owne poets,) to be true.

Goe shame into the villages, if they refuse
Such loathsome beastlines: whole Rome is now a stewes.

And again.

Roma vale, vidi, satis est vidisse, reuertar:
Cum leno, meretrix, scurra cynædus ero.

Now farwell Rome. I haue thee scene, it was enough to see:
I will come back when as I mean, bawd, harlot, knaue to be.

& againe

Roma quid est? Amor est, quem dat preposterus ordo,
Roma mares: noli dicere plura scio.

But what is Rome? She is that love wch natures rule doth break,
For its at Rome 'mongst males; I know much more, but will not speak.

Pareus on Reu: fol: 234.

Vnto which may be added that old verce applied by R. Grosthead.†

The world was not enough to satisfie
Their auerice, nor whores their luxury.

Du-Plessise, in his Treaties of the Masse, fol: 188. sheweth that Auentine ‡ reporteth that vnder the shadow of continencie & holines al sorts of incestes were comited (by them) without the sparing of any degree.

And Vlrich B. of Ausbourg complaies, that they are not affraid of whordoms, adultries, incestes, buggeries and other vitious practices; yea, of nothing of all that which the Scriptures call the abominations of the Cananites.

And likewise S^t Bernard saith that the diuell hath strewed the ashes of Sodome vpon the church (clergie) and that they are sham-

* Baptist Spagnuoli Mantuan (sometimes Latinized "Mantuanus"), an Italian poet, of much fame in his day, was born at Mantua, in 1448, and died in 1516. A full account of his writings may be seen in Brunet. Bradford quotes him here through Pareus. — Ed.

† Robert Grosthead or Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, regarded as the most learned ecclesiastic of the 13th century, was born about 1175, and died 1253. His unpublished writings are more numerous than those that have been given to the world. — Ed.

‡ John Aventin, author of the Annals of Bavaria, died in 1686. This work gained him a great reputation. See Watt, I. 57. — Ed.

les, not caring to couer & conceale themselves, but take their swinge in the comiting of all maner of villanie vnder the vaille of continencie.

But, let vs repaire, (saith Du-Plesis) to the mother of fornications, and ther we shall see the cardinals carrying the curtizans about with them in their coaches, and the pope taking ordinarie tribute and yearly sumes of money of them; and to keepe a stewes (I loth and abhorre to speak of the worst) him selfe. Ther we shall find (saith he) Aretines,* not in painted shapes, but in their liuely persons; John de-Casa, arch-bishop of Beneuento, deane of the Apostolike Chamber, and the pops nuncio, writing the praises of buggery in Italian verse, and causing the same to be imprinted at Venice.

Mantuan, though a gray-friar, saith,

Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cinædis
Seruit, honorandæ diuum ganymedibus ædes.

The afforesaid Johanes De-Casa placied the filthy Sodomite vnder the pops nose; and he it was that caused Francies Spira to subscribe to a recantation, which brought him to that fearful desperation.

It is said that Sixtus the 4th builded stews of both kinds, in Rome, and thereby got great rents and reuenus vnto the Church of Rome. And Peter Ruerius,† (an other pope) licenced the whole family of the cardinals, to play the Sodomits, the 3rd hole months in the year, June, July and August. Abridg. of the Acts & Mon. fol: 151.

Yea, it is openly knowne that in the popish cuntries comone stewes are alowed, vnto which youth and all sorts resorte to satisfie their fleshly lustes; as vsually men doe to tauernes to quench their thirst.

Peter Martire also shews in what pompe the harlots in Rome liue. Their houses, (saith he,) be most statly & gorgious, (and comonly such as belong to the church). They ride openly in chariots appareled like princes, and sometimes vpon their fine foote-cloaths.

* Reference is here made, I suppose, to some of the productions of Peter Aretin, an obscene and satirical writer of the sixteenth century, a native of Arezzo, who wrote verses to accompany the immodest engravings of Julio Romano. See Bayle's General Dictionary enlarged by many hands, under his name. — Ed.

† Peter Ruerius was not pope, but was one of the many cardinals made by Sixtus IV., who became pope in 1476. The true statement of Fox, quoting his authority, is, that Sixtus, "at the request of this Peter Cardinal, and of Jerome, his brother," "granted unto the whole family of Cardinal St. Lucy, in the three hot months of June, July, and August, free liberty," &c. Bradford here quotes the "Abridgment of the Acts and Monuments, fol. 151." The only edition of such an abridgment, existing in Bradford's time, known to me, is that of T. Bright, published in 1589, now before me; and the statements here made are found on pp. 386 and 387 of that volume. — Ed.

They haue in their company men wearing gould cheaines, and disguised persons, and sometimes cardinals, espetially in the night time; and a most sumptuous traine of waiting women. P. Martyre. Com: places, fol: 472. 473.*

And Mr. Tindall affirmes, that it was permitted to the ministers in Dutch-land, (to whom mariage was forbidden) that paying a gilder to the archdeacon, euery one might freely & quietly haue his whore, and put her away at his pleasure, and take another, as often as he list. And so it was in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France and Spaine. Fol: 262.

It was found at the desolution of our abeis in England, that some of the friers had 6 some 7 some 10 and some 20 concubines. And many were detected of most infamous incests, whordoms, & filthy sodomitrie, &c., as doth appear by the records, saith Doctor Willett, on Jude, fol: 107.†

And Dtr. Barnes saith, the pope and his prelates sell all things for money, for money they make vsurie lawfull, for money they make whoredome as lawfull as marriage, for money they make as good marchandise of womens . . . as the gould-smith doth of gilded plate; and all this by the authority of the keys as they pretend. Barnes‡ on the Keies. fol: 265. And these verces of Alexander the Sixt verifie the same.

Alexander sells crucifixes, Christ, & altars high,
And reason good he should so doe, for first he did them buy.

And this of Mantuan,

—— Venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura, preces, celum est venale, deusq.

Temples, preists, altars, sacred things, and crownes renowed too,
Fire, frankincense, prayers, Heaven and God here sell we doe.

* This is Peter Martyr, "Vermilius," not he of Angleria, with whom he was sometime contemporary. The former was a distinguished divine, born at Florence in 1500, Professor of Divinity for a time, at Oxford, and dying at Zurich in 1562. The "Common Places" of this author were translated into English by Anthony Marten, London, 1583. Wood has perpetuated his memory in his "Athenæ." — Ed.

† Dr. Andrew Willett, a learned English divine, was born in the city of Ely, in 1562, and died in 1621. He wrote many commentaries on different parts of the Scriptures. — Ed.

‡ Dr. Robert Barnes was Professor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Henry VIII. He suffered as a Protestant martyr in 1540. A collection of his works, including those of William Tyndall and John Frith, made by John Fox, was published in 1573, fol. This may have been the volume used by Bradford. — Ed.

And Cardinall Morton (that great politician) for money, got a licence for '14' to studie negromacie, him selfe being one. Tind: 367.

And what is it that the pope doth not dispence with, for money? It is knowne, (saith Peter Martyre,) how by the pops licence, Emanuell, the king of Portingaille, married with tow sisters; and Catherine, Queene of England, married with tow brothers. Ferdinand, the King of Naples, married his owne aunte. And it is affirmed, that Martine the '5' gaue licence to one to marie his naturall sister. Peter Martier, fol: 453. Com: places.

But to conclude. We will giue you an instance in tow or '3' of these holy vicars of Christ, who haue this plenarie power to dispence with and pardon whom they please.

And first in Pope John the '13'. He was a libidinus beast, a monstrous varlet; he comited inceste with '2' of his sisters; he caled on the diuell to help him in his play, &c.; he was deposed, but by the whores in Rome he was restored; but after, he was taken in adultrie & slaine by the womans husband. Abridg. Acts & Mon: fol: 39' & Simson of the Church, fol: 347.*

Siluester the '2' was a sorcerer, and was exalted to the papacy by the deuill ypon condition he should giue him selfe to the deuill after his death. Fol: 48.

Hildebrand, a firebrand, a most wicked man, a manifest nigromancer, a sorcerer, infected with a pithonick spirite, condemned by the councill of Brixia.†

Benedict the '9' aspired to the papacie by magicke, & practized enchantments, and conjurations, and alured women to his lusts by magicall arts. He was vnlearned and most vitious; and at length sould his dignitie for '1500^{li} waight of gould. And it is said he appeared after his death in a monstrous shape, more like a beast than a man.

Sergius the '3' caused the body of Formosus to be taken out of his graue after it had been buried '8' years, and beheaded it, (as if he had been aliue) and then cast it into Tiber, as vnworthy of buriall. And besides his cruelty, he was a vile whoremonger. He had a sone by Marozia, the wife of Guido, a famous harlot, who afterwards was

* "The Historie of the Church since the Days of our Saviour Jesus Christ until this present Age, by Patrick Symson. London 1624," folio. The author was minister at Stirling. — Ed.

† Brixen, a fortified town of Tyrol, south of the Alps. — Ed.

pope, called John the '12.* This Marozia was an incestuous harlot, and married tow bretheren, Guido & Hugo, of whom this verse was made.

Nubere Germanis satagens Herodia binis.

This was a judgment of God, (saith the author) vpon the Romans, they were guided by the popedome, and the popedome was guided by harlots.

Julius the '2' was full of iniquitie and a great warier. As he was going to ware, he cast the keyes of St. Peter into Tiber, saing, seeing the keyes of Peter would not serue his turne, he would take him selfe to the sword of Paule; and by his means in '7' years time, '200,000' Christians were destroyed with cursing and warr.

But we will ende with Alexander, the '6' that monster of men. It is said of him, (in the French historie,) that he was very dishoneste, hauing no sinceritie, no shame, no trueth, no faith, nor no religion, &c. Serres, fol: 314.†

He had '2' sons, one he made Duck of Candia, the yonger Cardinale of Valence. He had also a daughter, (a very bewtifull woman). The father, and both these breethern, made her their whore in com̄one; but the cardinall conceiueing that the duck, his brother, had the better share in her loue, and that he was raised to higher state then him selfe, he caused him to be murdered secretly in the night, as he ride in the streets, and had his body thrown into Tiber. Guiccirdin, fol: 138.‡

After this he cast of his cardinall habite, and became a great warrier. And such a wicked couple were these tow, that it grue to be a prouerbe, that the pope neuer did that which he said, nor his sone seldome speake what he ment.

But obserue the righteous judgment of God vpon them; when they were ariued almost to the tope of their greatnes, and the hight of their hopes, they were throwne downe; for, on a time, hausing prepared a banket, and inuited some cardinals, & great ones (which stood in their

* More properly John XI., who became Pope, anno. 931. — Ed.

† Jean de Serres. *Generall Historie of France*, translated by Edward Grimeston, London, 1624, folio. — Ed.

‡ Francis Guicciardini, a nobleman of Florence, and a well-known writer, was born in 1482, and died in 1540. His *History of the Wars of Italy* was first published at Florence (the first sixteen books only) in 1561, fol. The remaining four books were published three years later. The work was first translated into English by Geoffrey Fenton, 1579, fol., entitled "The History of Guicciardin"; yet I doubt, on examination, if this is the edition used by Bradford. — Ed.

way,) whom they mente to dispatch with poyson, they had for that end prepared some bottels of wine mixed for the turne; but by a mistake in the serueters, the pope had giuen him wine out of the wrong bottle, of which both he and his sone drounke; so as he dyed shortly after; and his sone being yonge and more vigoros, with the help of antidots escaped narrowly, and lay sicke a longe time vpon it, and all their designs were ouerthrowne therby. — *Qualis vita, finis ita.*

When the pope was dead, (saith Guiccardine) all Rome rane to see him, and rejoyced to see such a serpent destroyed; who with his imoderate ambition and poysoned infidelity, togeather with all the horrible examples of cruelty, luxurie and monstros coueteousnes, seling without distinction both holy and prophane things, had infected the whole world. Thus Guiccardine, a writer of ther owne, in his *Historie of Italie* fol: 234. & 236. — *Quæ bona si non est, finis tamen illa malorum est.*

YONG-MEN.

It is aparente by what you haue declared touching both their spirituall and corporall whordomes, and filthy polutions, that this is not the chaste-spouse of Christ, but that *πόρνης μεγάλης*, the great whore, that mother of whordomes and abhominations of the earth. *Reu. 17.* And it may be admired they should so long delude the world and attaine this hight of greatnes.

ANCIENT-MEN.

This is that misterie of iniquitie which begane betimes, and wrought by degrees. One great steppe to this aduancemente was when Constantine out of his godly zeal bestowed ritches & honours vpon the church, espetially vpon the bishops, & aduanced Siluester the first, bishop of Rome, in an eminent maner (because Rome was the imperiall seat) and caused a miter besett with presious-stons to be put vpon his head; which afterwards made them swell with prid & ambition, & could neuer be satisfied, but sought to be vniuersall bishope, and rule ouer all others. But yet rested not ther, but vsurped the ciuill power also, and lift vp them selues aboue kings & emperours, and then were they come to the hight of exaltation, as in the time of Boniface, &c. when they could say, behold both swords. *Ego sum pontifex, Ego sum Cæsar.* I am the high priest, I am Cæsar. And then they sett vp whom they would, and threw downe whom they pleased, and the highest were faine to fall downe before them. According to that of Mantuan:

Great Cæsar with victorious kings,
 Who Goulden crownes doe wear;
 They doe adore his footsteps, who
 The double sword doth beare.*

Paschalis the ·2· when he was chosen pope, put on a purple robe and a diadem vpon his head, with a scepter in his hand, and a girdle tyed about him, haueing ·7· seales and ·7· keyes hanging therat, to signifie his plenarie-power to bind & lose, to open & shut; and of sealing, resigning, and judging. He excommunicated the noble emperour Henerie the ·4· and stirred vp his owne sone to make warr against him.

Bonifacie the ·8· when he kepte his jubile at Rome, the first day he shewed him selfe in his pontificall garments with Peters keyes; but the ·2· day he shewed him selfe in royall apparell, with a naked sword carried before him, and a harold proclaiming, Ecce potestas vtriusq̃ gladij: behold the power of both swords; claiming to him selfe soueraine authority in all things, both ciuill & ecclesiasticall. And he excommunicated Philip, the King of France, and his posteritie, to the ·4· generation; because he made an ordinance that no money should be carried out of his countrie to Rome.

When Albert the ·1· came to the pope (after he was chosen) and desired (in a humble maner) his blessing, and to be crowned by him, the pope tould him he was not worthy, but put the crowne on his owne head, and a sword by his side, and said, I am Cæsar.

They would pretend diuine athrowity from the scriptures; as, Thou art Peter, to the will I giue the keies of the kingdom of heauen, &c. Mat. 16. But it is euidente that Phocas, that murderer, was he of whom Boniface the ·3· first obtained the title and power of Vniuersall Bishop, ad the Church of Rome to be the head of all churches; which was that they had long gaped for; and which being once obtained they rested not till they trode the emperours & their power vnder their feete. — Esto procul Roma, qui cupis esse pius.

YONG-MEN.

These things which you haue related doe make it clear vnto vs that this Roman-Church is not the true Church of Christ, but that scarlet-coloured whor, that great Babylon, that mother of whordoms and abominations of the earth. Ren. 17. And her popes, &c. that man of sine, that anti-christ, that sone of perdition, which shall be de-

* See Pareus above cited, page 174. — Ed.

stroyed. The Lord keepe vs farr from her iniquitie, that we may be kept from her plagues. But we pray you let vs hear your judgment of the Episcopacie, as it hath been in England for many years, therin differing from other reformed churches.

OF THE EPISCOPACIE.

ANCIENT-MEN.

It will be needfull before we speake to this poynte that some thing be premised to preuent mistakes. And first, we acknowledge that bishops, such as are mentioned in the holy scriptures, are of deuine institution and the ordinance of God. 2^y But lord bishops, inuested with sole spirituall power and gouernment, and exerciseing sole authority, power, and gouernment ouer the churches, without their choyse or consent, is strang from the scriptures, no institution of Christ, but a humane deuise and intrusion.

3^y Though this lordly hirarchie, consisting of primates, metropolitans, archbishops, lord-bishops, deans, arch-deacons, with all their subordinats, and inferior-dependents, in regard of their places, callings, power, and iurisdiction, were vnlawfull and strang from the rules of holy scriptures, and according to the popish patterne, yet wee acknowledge that many of their persones were men of worth for vertue & learning, for pietie & godliness, and many exelent parts; yea, some of them blessed martires, who gaue their bodyes to the fire for the trueth of Christ.

4^y For the maine (in charitie) we beleuee they saw not the euill in these things, but had their minds more intente vpon the puritie of doctrine in the cheefe foundations of religion, and purging of the same from popish-leauen; espetially the first & most sincere reformers.

5^y Though they saw some thing amise, yet they could not doe all things at once; the times would not beare it; they thought to gaine vpon them by degrees, as the times would suffer; and so might haue done had men remained faithfull, and prid and ambition had not hindered and blinded the eyes of sundrie.

6^y and lastly. The casting out of the pope & his supremasie, and the supressing of the worst part of the hirarchie, abots, munks,

and friers, those swarmes of locusts which did eat vp and defile the land; and pulling downe of their strong foundations and firme corporations, which they thought to be indesoluble; it did cause such an earth-quake in the land as did astonish the minds of men; and in that junkture of time made the world to wonder, and after times to admire the same. No maruell therefore, though the greatnes of that work did not giue way to many other things which were to be the worke of time.

We are therefore thankfully to acknowledg the great worke of God in the Reformation made in our dear, native-countrie, in which the tyranie and power of the pope was cast of, and the purity of doctrine in the cheefe foundations of religion restored; and though she fell short in some things of other Reformed Churches, (espetsially in gouernment,) yet not in the grouth of the power of godlynes, but rather to excede them in such as the Lord raised vp and inlightened amongst them.

But herein was the great defecte, that this lordly hierarchie was continued (after the pope was cut of) in the same calings and offices, and ruled (in a manner) by the same lawes, and had the same power & jurisdiction ouer the whole nation, without any distinction; all being compelled, (as members of this Nationall Church) to submit to the forme of worship established, and this gouernment set ouer them; farr difering from the liberty of the gospell and the practiss of some other Reformed Churches, who only admitted such into the church, and to partake in the holy things, as manifested repentance and made publicke confession of their faith according to the scriptures; and had such a ministrie sett ouer them as them selues liked & approued of.

And of this Dtr. Ridley biterly complaines, (who was some times a "bishop, and after, a blessed martyre) How that the greatest parte of "all sorts, in King Edwards days, both magistrats, bishops, ministers, "lawyers, and people of all sorts & degrees, were neuer perswaded in "their harts (but from the teeth outward, and to please the king) of "the trueth of Gods word, & the religion they recieued, but did dis- "emble.

"And pitifull and lamentable it was (saith he) to see the people so "loathsomly and iredigiously, to come to the holy-communion and the "seruice of God, which they vnderstood neuer a whit, nor could be "edified any thing at all ther by. Acts & Mon: fol: 517.

A very sad complainte, and shows vs the true face of things in those times, by him that was able to discern, who was neither Brownist,

nor seperatist. He also judged it to be a cheefe cause of Gods judgements which followed in queen-Marys dayes.

YONG-MEN.

We perceiue then, that the cheefest agreeamente and conformitie between other Reformed-churches & the Nationall Church of England, as it stood vnder the prelats and bishops, was more cheefly, in regard of the puritie and truth of doctrin, then in regarde of either the constitution of the church, or gouernement of the same, in w^h we perceiue they did mainly difer.

ANCIENT-MEN.

You say right in that, for they neuer approued this gouernment, but bore it as a burden; as appeares, not only in their generall practise, but also in their writings. For which take these few testimonies of many:

By this you see (saith Mr. Beza) that the church is not to be taken for certaine of the worshipfull clergimen alone, but for an whole assemblee and congregation of Gods people; with out whose consent neither excommunication nor election of ministers ought to be vsed. On Epeh .5.*

And in his Confession, Art .7. Chap .14. he hath these words: My Lord-Bishop, M^r. Official, M^r. Vicar, their promoters, procurators, & the like; it was not possible to haue brought them into the Church of God, till they had driuen Christ the maister out. And ther is neither holy scripture, neither councell, nor anciente doctors, which euer knew such monsters. And in the .12. Chap. of his Confessions, he saith: Concerning their suffragans, officials & proctors in the courts of the church, &c. and other such innumerable vermine, what can I say otherwise? for one shall as soone find the diuell among the angels, as one word or mention of them in the Scriptures, or in the ancient counceils, doctors, Greek or Latine, to approue them. I say more, that it is as possible to accord these estates, with the true form of the church, as to accord light and darknes, truth and lyes. So he. Through the ambition of Bishops (saith Gualter) it is come to pase

* Theodore Beza, an eminent and voluminous French writer and promoter of the Reformation, was born in 1519, and died in 1606. A large number of his works were translated into English in his own day. Many of these are now very rare. — Ed.

that the libertie of the church is troden vnder foote, and chosing of ministers dependeth on them. Gualter on Acts. Hom: 104.*

Now where the ambition of prelates hath disturbed and broken this order, and haue chalenged vnto them a lordship ouer the inheritance or church of Christ, the congregations are euery day molested with new contentions; and ther appeareth no end, either of errorrs, or most bitter debates. Gualter, Hom: 104.

I thinke, verilie, (saith Mr. Wheatonhall) Gualter, in these words pointed with his finger espetially at England; for no nation of Christendome, that is caled a Reformed-Church, hath had, or is like to haue, such endless contentions and continuall errorrs, only through the lordship and magnificent estate of lord-bishops; which no Reformed Church in all Europe hath retained but England. Whetenhall, pag: 127.†

Danæus‡ saith, they do perfidiously deprive the church of her right, who thrust a pastor on a people without their knowledg or consent; for they doe the church the greatest injurie when they spoyle her of her judgment and voyce giueing; who are therefore truly to be called sacrilegious or church-robbers. Vnto which he addeth: By all this it appears, how that calling of ministers is none, or not lawfull, which is made by the authority, letters, commandment and judgment of the king alone, or queene, or the patrons, or bishope, or archbishop, &c., as is vsed in England; which (saith he) I speake with greefe. Mr Jacobs Attestation, § pag: 42. Mr. Caluin hath the like.

Truly (saith Mr. Caluin) this is a foule example, that out of the court are sent bishops to possess churches; and it should be the worke

* Rodolph Gualter, one of the early Swiss Reformers, was born at Zurich, 1520, and died 1586. He wrote many works on Scripture, History, and Grammar, some of which were early translated into English; among which is the one cited by Bradford, "An hundred, threescore, and fiftene Homelyes or Sermons, vpon the Actes of the Apostles written by Saint Luke; made by Rodulphe Gualthere Tigurine, and translated out of Latine into our tongue for the commoditie of the English reader. By John Bridges, London, 1572," fol. (See Watt.)—Ed.

† Thomas Whetenhall wrote a Discourse on the Abuses in the Church of Rome, 1606, 4to.—Ed.

‡ Lambert Danæus was a French Protestant Divine, born about the year 1530, and died 1590. Many of his writings were translated into English in his time. Bradford is here citing Danæus through Jacob.—Ed.

§ The author quoted is Henry Jacob, an English divine, who founded the Independent Church, in London, in 1616. He wrote a number of works, among which is the one cited in the text: "An Attestation of many Learned . . . Divines justifying this Doctrine, viz., that the Church-government ought to be always with the peoples free consent." 1613. 8vo. Jacob is said to have died in Virginia, in 1624.—Ed.

of a godly prince to abstaine from such corruption; for it is a wicked spoyling of the church, when ther is thrust vpon any people, a bishop whom they haue not desired, or, at least, with free voyce allowed. And againe, it is tyrannous for any one man to appointe or make ministers at his pleasure. Therefore (saith he) this is the most lawfull way, that those be chosen by comone voyces, who are to take vpon them any publick function in the church. Caluin on the .14. of the Acts, & the .6. of the Acts. Whetenhall, page .144.

Francis Lambart saith, maruell not that I said ther be many bishops in one city; for verily euery city hath so many bishops as it hath true preachers.

And againe he saith, euery parish (or congregation) ought to haue their proper bishop, which should be chosen & confirmed by the people & comunalltie of the church, of euery place. And to doe this, they haue no need of letters, rings, seales, tokens, and such other things of this kind, very much vsed, clean contrary to the word of God. And so long they should be accounted for bishops, as they preach most purely the gospell of the kingdom of God, from w^h if they swarue and teach strang doctrine, they ought to be deposed and put out of them by whom they were chosen, euen of the comunality of the church aforenamed.

And againe he saith, all the canons of the world canot lawfully chose one bishop of the church of Jesus Christ; and that the church of God hath no ministers besides these, bishops and deacons. Whetenhall, pag .87.

And Zuinglius saith, a church is taken for the seuerall congregations, which conueniently meete togeather in some one place for the hearing of the word, and receiuing of the sacraments. The Grecians call these *Parikias*. And of this maner of church, Christ speaketh, Mat .18. Tell the church. And the Apostle Paull to the Corinthians. Whet: pag .88.*

Peter Martire saith, we confesse the kies are giuen to the whole church; and by the kyes, he meaneth gouernment and ecclesiasticall power.

He also saith, without the consent of the church not any one can be excommunicated. This right belongs to the church; neither ought it to be taken away from it. Jac. Attestation, page .34. He also

* Bradford evidently here quotes Lambert (probably the author of "The Summe Christianity," 1586), and Zuingli, through Whetenhall. — Ed.

affirmeth that gouernemente is a notable portion of the gospell, and not the least part of Christian Religion; and that the gospell seemeth to be neglected of them, who put away from them so excelente a part thereof. In his Epist: to the Lords of Polonia.

Also Caluin saith, in that forme of the church which the apostls set downe we haue the only pattern of a true church; from which if any bend aside neuer so litle, he erreth. Epis: to Sadolet.*

Chemnicus saith, that Paul & Barnabas did not thrust ministers on the church without their consent; and that the election & vocation of ministers by the historie of the apostles & their examples, appears clearly to belong to the whole church; and that this is the judgmēt & way of the apostolike, primitiue, and ancient church, concerning the lawfull election & calling of ministers; which way hath place in those churches which are constituted according to the word of God.

Junius saith,† it is manifest that that way of chosing & calling ministers is most approued by the testimonie of holy scriptures, which the apostles in old time kept in the churches. And when the bishops did arrogate that power to them selues, and depriue them of it, it was the churches damage, injurie and shame. And what that way was, he shewed before; how that the whole church did chose, (that is, the body, consisting of the eldership & people or comōne sort) by equal & comōne voyces. Jacobs Attestation, pag 44.

Then he answereth some obiections: But some will say, the people are ignorant of their duty and right herein. Let them be taught (saith he) and they will vnderstand it. But they know not how to vse it aright. Ans; they will not know it euer, if they vse it neuer. But they are factious often, and deuided into parts. Let them be redused to peace by wholesome counsell, and let them be ruled by the authority of the word, and the endeours of good men; that their minds being ordered, they may do that which is their right to doe. Page 46.

We might add many more (for the whole current of all those exel-

* "During his [Calvin's] stay at Strasburgh, he continued to give several marks of his kind affection to the church of Geneva, as appears, among other things, by the answer he wrote in 1539 to the beautiful but artful letter of Cardinal Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras." "That letter is to be found in the volume which contains Calvin's small works (*opusculos*)"; dated Sept. 1, 1539. (Bayle's Dict. enlarged, IV. 46.)—Ed.

† Chemnitius and Junius are here cited through Jacob, a copy of whose book, belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, I have consulted. Mart. Chemnitius wrote a number of theological works, published at Frankfort on the Maine. Francis Junius was Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and a writer of distinction. He was born in 1546, and died of the plague, at Leyden, in 1602.—Ed.

ent deuines and first lights and guides of the Reformed Churches, rune in one stream this way). But these shall suffice. By which you may see how, from the scriptures, they shew what a church is ; what power it hath, both in chosing & ordaining or confirming their owne officers ; and in deposing them, if the case so require ; as also to receiue the worthy, and to excommunicat the guilty, when need requires. And that it is not only an injurie and damage for any to depriue them of this their right & libertie ; but that it was no lese then sacriledge and tyranus vsurpation in the lordly hirarchie so to doe.

YONG-MEN.

We see plainly these testimones are very full against the power and vsurpation of the prelatie ; and as clear for the approbation and lawfullnes of the Congregationall way.

But it is objected, wheras you seeme to lay so much waight on the name or terme lord-bishope, that it is but a title of reuerence, and may as well be giuen to bishops now, as the Hebrew Adoni, the Greeke *κύριος*, the Latin Dominus, and the Dutch Here ; [&] may sometimes, and haue been giuen in way of honour vnto them, without offence.

ANCIENT-MEN.

It is not so much the name, as the thing, that is stood vpon. They are called spirituall-lords, and chaleng spirituall power and sole authority ouer the churches ; which belongs only to the Lord Jesus Christ, the only law-giuer of his church. Neither is the consequence good, for our English terme Lord, & Lordship, vsually and properly implies power and authority, and sole rule & gouernment ouer others ; wheras these forain termes, *κύριος*, Monsieur, Dominus, Here, &c., doe not alwaies so signifie, but often and more vsually importe no more but Mr or Sir, in our sense and phrase and maner of speaking.

It is obserueable what Socrates (that famous historian) saith in the proeme of his 6th booke.* The fauorers of prelats (saith he) will blame vs for not entitling bishops, most godly, most holy, and such like epithetons, &c. But I will lay asid, (saith he) these swelling titles and tye my selfe to the truth of historie. So farr was he from those flattering titles of your grace, your lordship, your honour, &c. the

* Socrates (Scholasticus) an ecclesiastical historian, born about the middle of the fifth century. His "Church History" is probably the book here cited. It was translated into English as early as 1556. — Ed.

name of lord was scarce giuen to kings and emperours in those days, much less to bishops & prelates.

YONG-MEN.

But our bishops would seeme to deriue them selues and callings from deuine authority of the scriptures, as the apostles successors.

ANCIENT-MEN.

So doth the pope from Peter, (as you heard before) but they will neuer be able to proue their lordly power, nor metropolitan or diocesan jurisdiction, from the scriptures. Their pedigree will be found to be of much later date. Our owne late lawes will sooner show the foundation a rise of our late bishops, and their callings and jurisdiction, then the scriptures.

It was inacted by a statute made in the .1. year of the raigne of queene Elizabeth, that all jurisdiction, priuiledges, sup[e]riorities, & preheminences, spirituall or ecclesiasticall, as by any spirituall or ecclesiasticall power or authority hath heretofore been (vnderstand by the popes decrees, or prelates canons) or lawfully may be exercised or vsed for the vissitation of the ecclesiasticall state & persons, & for reformation, order and correction of the same; and of all maner of errores, heresies, schismes, abuses, offences, contemptes & enormities; shall for euer by authority of this present-parlemente, be annexed to the crowne of this realme. .1. of Eliza: Chap .1. fol:1001.

2^v By vertue of this statute the queen was to assigne such persons by her letters patents as she thought fitt, to exercise this ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

3^v By the same power comited vnto her, she did and might cause such as she thought fitt, to be elected & ordained for bishops, archbishops, &c. And in the .8. of her raign, because some doubts were and might be made about the proceedings therein, she had power to dispencc (and did) with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same. The .8. of her raige, fol: 1068.

Also it was by an acte of parlement prouided, in the .25. of Henery the .8. that the archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, and his successors, should haue power & authority frō time to time, by their discretions, to giue, grant & dispose, to the king, his heires & successors, all maner of such licences, dispensation, &c. as heretofore had ben vsed and accustomed to be had & obtained, &c. from the Sea of Rome.

And also the aforesaid archbishop, he or his sufficient deputies, might grant all maner of licences, dispensations, faculties, &c. for any such cause or mater, &c. as hath bene accustomed (to any of the kings subjects) to be had at the Sea of Rome, or by authority of the same. An^o: 25^o of Hen^o 8^o Chap^o 13^o.

Thus you may see from what botome and foundation their power, callings, and jurisdiction did arise, whatsoever else is pretended or pleaded otherwise.

And together with these functions & callings, they did retaine their commissarie courts, courts of faculties, &c. with all their officers, as chancelors, commissaries, officalls, doctors, proctors, registers, apparitors, &c., in which they did examine causes, pase excommunications, punish or absolue at their pleasure, grant licences, lay censures vpon persons, & take them of againe for money. Yea, they had also their prisons to comite men too when they pleased, (in which they were neither like the apostells, or their true successors). Their courts were vsually full of bawdery, bribery, tiranie & oppression, and a continuall snare and vexation to the godly. They followed more the pops law then the rules of the gospell; as one of their cheefe proctors (in his answer to the Abstracte, . . .) * affirms, that the canon-law, is the commune-law ecclesiasticall.

They would needs haue the pontificall and preistly apparell continued, and held vp, to the great offence of the godly at home and abroad; as copes, four-cornerd-capps, surplisses, albs, canonical coats, & such like trash, fitter for the whore of Rome, then the Church of Christ.

Also they stood stiffly to maintaine a company of vaine ceremonies, profitable for nothing (excepte to maintaine their courts, and fill their catch-pouls purses,) ; such as the crosse in baptisme, kneeling at the Lords Supper, wearing the surplise, keeping of holy-days, bishoping or confirm[ing] of children, &c. These & a number more, with stricte conformitie to the comone-seruice, were more vrged and looked too, then ether the powerfull preaching of the word of God & sound doctrine, or holines of life & conuersation. Nay, it is notoriously knowne, (to the dishonour of God & the Gospell) that painfull and zelous ministers were silenced, and godly professors reproched with nic-names of Puritanes, Browists, preissions, and shuch like contumelies, for these things.

* Blank in the MS. — Ed.

YONG-MEN.

We beleene these things which you haue related, concerning the maner of their callings and grounds of their proceedings, haue not been so commonly knowne, or at least, considered by many. We confess we haue been ignorant in many of these things, and now doe not maruell they found such opposition, but rather that they were so long forborne. But we find that many plead, and are of opinion, that diocesan-bishops haue been from the apostles time, and that Timothy & Titus were such, and some of the apostles them selues were such.

ANCIENT-MEN.

The apostles were ouer all churches, and had a larger commission; Mat. 28. and euangelists (such as Tim: & Titus) were also extraordinary men, & imployed by the apostles for the preaching of the gospel & establishing of the churches. And it should be dirogatorie to their callings to be tyed to a perticuler flocke, as ordinary bishops were. Acts 20.

But the truth is, ther were no proper diocesan-bishops in the world till the Councell of Nice, (which was in the 4th centuarie,) nor any diocesses deuised, till then; that patriarchs were deuised, and other sup[e]riorities, for good ends, to watch against, and supress errors & heresies; but it being but a humane deuice, and wanting warrent from the word of God, it proued fruitles, and was a meanes to pufe vp the bishops with prid, & make them swell with ambition, and serued to aduance antichrist vnto his seat.

And yet it was a long time after, ere that they did assume such lordly power, to exclude their presbitors in their adminstrations, or the people from their voyces in elections and other rights; as those that are acquainted with histories doe well kōwe; and as came to pass in after times, espetially after the exaltation of antichrist to his hight.

It is not denied but that many churches before these times might grow too bulkie, like vnweldy bodyes; and many bishops that were of eminent parts for gifts, and in eminent places, were much resorted to for counsell and help in many cases,* and they gaue them honour and respecte, as their merits did well deserue. But that ther were any proper diocesan bishops, with sole power & jurisdiction ouer others before these times of Constantine, they will neuer be able to proue; what soeuer flourishes they or any for them may make or pretend.

* & sometimes tooke too much vpon them. — BRADFORD'S note. — ED.

YONG-MEN.

Some thinke the Presbiteran gouernment (which is by Classis, and Sinods) to be as oppressing and burthensome as this of the prelats. We pray you shew vs in what they differ.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall shew you what M^r Gillespie, a Scotch-minister, saith herin. The prelate (saith he) was but one, yet, 1st he claimed the power of ordination and jurisdiction as proper to him selfe in his owne diocesse. But we giue the power of ordination & church censures not *uni*, but *unitai*, not to one, but to an assemblie gathered into one.

2nd The prelate assumed a perpetuall precedancy and priuiledge of moderating sinods, which we deny to any one man.

3rd The prelate did not aske or receiue aduice from his fellow presbiters, but when he pleased.

4th He made him selfe pastor to the diocesse (consisting it may be of some hundreds of congregations) holding that the ministers of perticuler congregations did preach and administer sacrements in his name by verue & authority from him, as his vicars, because he could not acte in euery congregation. But the Presbiterall gouernment acknowledged no pastoral charge of preaching and ministring the sacraments to more congregations then one.

5th As the prelats denyed the power & authority of pastors, so they vterly deny the very offices of ruling elders and deacons for taking care of the pore in perticuler congregations.

6th They did not acknowledg congregationall elderships, nor any power of discipline in perticuler congregations, which the Presbiterians doe.

7th They intrude pastors oftentimes vpon churches against their consente, which the Presbiteriens doe not.

8th They ordaine ministers without any perticuler charge, which the Presbiteriall gouernment doth not.

9th In sinods they doe not allowe any but the clergie alone.

10th The prelats declined to be accountable to, and censurable by, either chapters, diocessan, or nationall sinods; but in Presbiteriall gouer^t all are called to accounte, in presbyteries, provinciall, and nationall assemblies; and none are exempted from sinodical censures in case of scandalle and obstinacie.

11th The prelats power was not merely ecclesiasticall; they were lords of parlements and held ciuill places in the state, which we condem.

12^v. The prelates were not chosen by the church; presbyters are.

13^v. The prelates did presume to make lawes binding the conscience, euen in things indiferent; and did persecute, imprison, fine, depose, excommunicate men for certaine rites & ceremonies acknowledged by themselves to be indifferent (setting the will and authority of the law-makers asside). This the Presbyteriall gouernment abhorreth, saith he.

14. The prelates did excommunicate for monie-maters, for trifles, wth the Presbyteriall gouernment condemneth.

15. The prelates did not allow men to examine by the judgments of Christian & priuate discretion, their decrees & canons, so as to search the scriptures and looke at the warrents, but would needs haue men thinke it enough to know the things to be commanded by them that are in place and power; but Presbyterall gour^t: (saith he) doth not lord it ouer mens consciences, but admiteth & comendeth the searching of the scriptures, whether these things it holds forth be not so; and doth not presse mens consciences with sic volo, sic jubeo, but desire they may doe in faith what they doe.

16. The prelates held vp pluralities, non-residences, &c., which the Presbyteriall gour^t doth not.

17. As many of the prelates did them selues neglect to preach the gospell, so they kepte vp in diuerse places a reading-non-preaching ministrie, which the Presbyteriall gouernment suffereth not.

18. They opened the dore of the ministrie to diuerse scandalous arminianized and popishly affected men, and locked the dore vpon many worthy to be admitted. The Presbyteriall gouernment, (saith he) herein is as contrary to theirs, as theirs was to right.

19. Their official-courts, commissaries, &c, did serue them selues as heires to the sones of Eli; thou shalt give it me now, and if not, I will take it by force. The Presbyteriall gouernment (saith he) hatteth such proceedings.

20. The prelates and their high-commission-court (saith he) did assume potestatem utriusqⁱ gladij, the power of both the temporal an[d] ciuill sword; the Presbyteriall gouernment medleth with no ciuill nor temporall punishments. Arons-Rod. fol:179.*

Thus we haue giuen you many of the differences between these tow

* George Gillespie was a minister at Edinburgh, and a member of the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines. Among his many books was the one cited by Bradford: "Aaron's Rod blossoming; or, the Divine Ordinance of Church Government vindicated"; London, 1646. — Ed.

gourments, by one of them selues, and in his owne words. And sundrie more might be made; neither will we now skane the practise of the Presbyterieans, how answerable it is in all things to some of these grounds.

YONG-MEN.

These are very deepe charges and wound sorely this Nationall Gouvermente by prelates and lord bishops & their substitutes. And it is like if the head be thus corrupte and distempred the body cannot be sounde, but ill-affected. We desire to hear something thereof, and then that you will proceede to speake some thing of the Presbyterians, and their gouermente.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall not say much herein, because it hath bene obuius to euery mans eyes and eares, and some testimonies might be thought partiall. Take therefore only these tow; first, Archb. Whitgift saith, now the church is full of hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkards, whomongers, ignorant-persons, papistes, atheists, and such like. Ans: to the Admōition, pag 44. 45.*

And Doctor Bilson saith, to our churches comes all sortes, atheists, hypocrites, &c., all which filth, (saith M^r Jacob,) ought verily to be imputed to non-residents and pluralists; and that a diocesan bishop must needs be a great pluralist and non-resident him selfe, for he hath the proper charge of soules, ouer all his cirquite; that is, ouer many hundred congregations, and for the most part is neuer with them, nor so much as euer saw their faces. Jacobs Attestation, fol: 131.

And M^r Caluin saith, that it is a prodigious and monstrous mishcheefous wickednes, vtterly against God, against nature, and against the ecclesiasticall gouerment, that one arrante theefe should sitt ouer diuers churches-together, and that he should be called their pastor, which cannot be present with his flock though he would. Wetenhall, pag 145.

Thus you see the complection of this Nationall-Church; and the causes therof, in a great measure; and what just ground ther hath been of complainte and bearing witnes against the same, by those who haue suffered hard measure for so doing, from men; but their reward is with the Lord.

* John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a number of books, among which was "An Answer to a certan Libell, entitled, An Admōition to the Parliament," London, 1571. He died at Lambeth, 1604. — Ed.

YONG-MEN.

We must acknowledg you haue giuen vs more light in these things then we in many things saw before, and we doubt not but such as haue been faithfull to the Lord & his truth shall reap the fruit of their labours. But we pray you to proceed to speak of the Presbyterian gouernements.

OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

ANCIENTE-MEN.

The Reformed Churches, vnder the Presbyterian gouernment, we esteeme and reuerence thē as the true churches of Christ; being for the maine rightly constituted and reformed according to the word of God; at least in those grounds and principles laid downe and held forth by those excelente men and shining lightes which the Lord raised vp in the first times of Reformation; as we haue allready seen by the testimonies of sundrie of them, & by many more may appeare. But it were to be wished that many things had been better examined and mended according to the true standard and right patterne of the word of God, as we doubt not but many of them selues were of the same minde, and were contented to beare with, and suffer many things which, in regard of the condition of the times and places in which they liued, they knew not how to help or mende. And what hath been left vnreformed at first hath seldom been mended afterwards, but rather grown worse, as too much experience hath showne. And this that excelent and holy man Peter Martyre well kēwe, when he write to the ministers of Polonia. Who seeth not (saith he) that when “a mater is defered, desired occations are lost. Wherefore bestire “your selues with speede, *Breethren*, pluck vp by the rootes all “superstition, and false opinions; let the euill seeds & rotten roots be “cut vp euen in the verie begining, for if they be neglected at the “first (I know what I say) they are with difficulty taken away afterward. I haue seene some (saith he) which haue pared away the “leaves, flowers & fruits of superstition, but haue spared the roots, “which haue afterward sprunge vp againe, to the great hurt of the “Lords vineyard. Epis: to the Ministers of Poland, pag 87. Well had it been had this good and holsom counsell bene better followed, both by them and others.

YONG-MEN.

We desire to know how them selues describe or speake of the church; and how the same may be knowne and discerned.

ANCIENT-MEN.

Vsually they distinguish betweene the Catholick-church and a perticuler-church. The Catholick church is some time taken by them for all the electe of God, that euer haue been, or shall be, even all the saints that euer haue been or shall be in the world; and some time, for all the faithfull that liue disperced through the whole world in any present age.

But of a perticuler church (which most concerns our mater in hand) you haue heard before, how that Zuinglius & others say, the church is taken for the seuerall congr[eg]ations which conueniently meete togeather in some one place, for the hear[ing] of the word, and receiuing the sacraments, which are by the Greecians called parikias, & of this maner of church Christ speaketh, Mat: 18: Tell the church and the Apostle ·I· Cor: 5:

And the French Confession, Art ·27· hath these words, We affirme out of the word of God, that the church is a company of the faithfull, w^h agree togeather in following the word of God & imbracing pure religion, wherin they also dayly profite, &c. Herman: Conf: page ·320·

And in the Belgia Confession it is said the true church may be discerned from the false by these notes: First, if the pure preaching of the Gospell doe florish in it; if it haue the lawfull administration of the sacraments according to Christs institution; if it doe use the right ecclesiasticall discipline for the restraining of uice; finally, if it doe square all things to the rule of Gods word, refusing whatsoever is contrarie to it, &c. Hermon: Conf: page ·322·*

All the rest doe for the most part agree herein, as may be seen more at large in the ·10· section of the Church. Hermon: of Conf: ·306· & following.

And the Scotch Confession saith, whersoever the former notes are seen and of any time continue, ther, without all doubt, is the true church of Christ (be the number neuer so few) who, according to his promise, is in the midst of them. Not in the vniversall (say they),

* "An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches in Europe. Translated out the Latine. Added the Confession of the Church of Scotland." 4to, 1643.—Ed.

of which we haue spoken before, but perticuler, such as were in Corinth, Galacia, Ephesus, and other places, in which the ministrie was planted by Paull, and were by him selfe named the churches of God, &c. Hermonie of Conf: pag 18.

YONG-MEN.

Seeing they hold this ground of perticuler churches, and that ther are in these churches a presbyterie or eldership, with power of discipline, as you haue now showed vs, & before in the '6. differences made by Mr. Gillespie betweene them selues and the prelates, ther may seeme herein no difference betweene them and those of the Congregationall-way. If ther be, we pray you show vs wherin it lyeth.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall show you how the afforesaid author, Mr. Gillespie, giues a hint herof; though he doth but touch it by the way. What is it (saith he) that can denominate many perticuler visible churches or congregations to be one visible minist[er]iall flock or church, vnlesse it be their vnion and association vnder one ecclesiasticall gouernment? No doubt (saith he) they had the administration of the word and sacraments partitiue or seuerall. Nor doe I deney (saith he) but they had a partitiue seuerall gouernement, which did denominate them to be one visible ecclesiasticall flock. Aarons-Rodd, fol: 298.

By which you may perceiue vpon what botome their Presbyteriall gouernment is founded; for though they hould (& that rightly), that euery perticuler church ought to haue their owne officers, viz. elders & deacons, and of their elders some are to teach & others for to rule & gouerne, of which their presbyterie or eldership doth consiste, and these exercise some kind of discipline and gouernement amongst them selues;

Yet they hold that such perticuler churches are to enter into a bond of association with other churches; and by vertu of this consociation they erecte classises and sinods, both prouinciall and nationall, and vpon the same ground some ascend higher to generall councill or sinods. And vnto these they ascribe superior power & jurisdiction one ouer another, to whom they alow apeales from one to an other, till they come to the highest. And out of their perticuler presbyteries the perticuler churches chose delegates for the classes, & so other superior courts; by which means, (say they) all the members of each church thus consociate become subjecte to, and are bound to obey

the decrees and sentences giuen by the seuerall superior & higher courts or jurisdictions; and the higher may annull & resinde any acte of the inferior.

YONG-MEN.

Doe they leaue it as a mater only of conueniencie thus for churches to consociat, or [doe] they count it a duty, & of necessity to be done; and if so, what grounds haue they from the scriptures for the same?

ANC: MEN.

They say they are bound to it by the same reason that euery beleuer is bound to joyne him selfe to some church or other. But we see not how this reason will inforce it, for a Christian cannot be edified and inioye the cheefe means of saluation without fellowship with some church; but a perticuler church may be well enough both edified and gouerned by her oune elders without association with & subordination to others. Againe, euer[y] beleuer is left free to what church he will make choyse to joyne him selfe vnto (or, at least, should be); but they obtained an ordinance of parlemēt in England, An^o: 1647. that a comitie therein spetified, should deuide the respectiue counties into distinct classically presbyteries; and, being approued by the comitie of the Lords & Comones according to an ordinance of the Lords & Comones, dated the 19. of Aug: 1645. the said classically presbitries shall haue power to constitute congregationall elderships within their seuerall precincts. And the said comitie of Lords & Comones had power by the same ordinance to bound the prouinciall assemblies in the kingdome, and to increase the number of delegates which are or shalbe sente to any prouinciall assembly, as they shall thinke fitt.* See the ordinance printed that year.

By which it seems it is rather of humane policie or prudencie, then by any ground from scripture. They tell vs indeed that the church of Jerusalem consisted of more congregations then one; and were all vnder one Presbyteriall gouernment, and therfore called one church, because ther is mention made of many belieuers ther, and many apostles ther, and many languages spoken ther, &c. 2. instance they giue in the Church of Ephesus, in which (say they) were many churches vnder the gouernment of one presbiterie, because Paule preached long ther, and ther is mention of a church in the house of

* See Neal's "History of the Puritans," Toulmin's ed., London, 1837, Vol. II. 371, 372. — Ed.

Priscila & Aquila. And that those many congregations were one church and vnder one Presbyteriall gouernement appeares, (say they) out of the Reu. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. compared with Acts. 20. 17. 28. But how soundly these & such like instances proue this thing we confesse we see not.

And as litle waight seemes to be in this, how from Mat. 18. as is holden forth the subordination of an offending brother to a perticuler church; so also it holds forth by paritie of reason the subordination of a congregation to a superiour assembly.

And in the seuerall assemblies for the gouernment of the church it is agreeable to the word of God that apeals be made from the inferiour to the superiour respectiue; and the prof brought for the subordination of assemblies, proues the lawfulness of apeals. An other instance is brought from the Apostle Peter, his writing to the Christians in seuerall prouinces; yet he cals them the flock, not flocks, and exhorteth the elders to feede the flocks of God, which dependeth on them, or which is amonge you. 1. Pet. 5. 1. 2. But what doth this euince more then the feeding of the seuerall and respectiue flocks, which they were sett ouer in their seuerall places? as in Acts. 20. 28. These are the cheefests grounds that we find are giuen by the Assembly of Deuines, or others that joyne with them, in setting vp this Presbyteriall gouernment now in our owne countrie, in England. But they seē to vs (we must confesse) very weake and obscure, to rear such high buildings vpon. Such waighty things had neede of stronger foundations. It is obserued by some that are lerned, that through out the New-testament this word *πρεσβυτεριον*, is found but in three places; wherof ther is but one that houldeth out any thing of the gouernment in hand, and in that place ther is the naked word only, without the addition of any such expression, *greater, lesse, superior, inferior*, or any kind of *adjuncte*, that can possible put a thought in vs of more presbiteries then one.

We cannot be said (say they) therefore to be cleer in our rule, when we are forced, out of one word, and but once vsed, to raise so *many thrones* or formes of gouernement. See The Reas: of the Dissenting Brethren, fol: 32. & .3. 40.*

Againe, we find not in the scriptures the name of classis, prouinciall sinods, nationall sinods, or assemblies, generall councils. It was held

* "The Reasons presented by the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government, and the Proof of them," &c., 1648. See Palfrey's Hist. New England, Vol. II. p. 92. — Ed.

to be a good argument against the prelates that the name of Archbishop, Lord-Bishop, &c., nor the thing, was not to be found in the scriptures. Much lese doe we find in the scriptures one presbyterie to be sett ouer an other: as first presbyteries, then ·2· classes, ·3· prouinciall sinods, ·4· nationall assemblies, and lastly a generall-councell as the highest court aboue all.

We find not in the scriptures of the New-testamēt any institution or comand for the erecting or establishing of such seuerall standing courts and tribunals for the gouernment of the church, with such superiour power one ouer another. Neither doe all the Reformed Churches thinke them al to be of that necessitie: for the Geneua rest in the classically; the French goe no higher then the nationall; and the Low-countries are said to haue seldome any nationall, or desire to haue them. And it is affirmed that it is generally granted by the Presbyterians them selues, that for ·50· years after Christ, and in the apostles times, ther was but one kind of presbyterie. All w^h may seeme to hold forth that this is rather a prudentiall way of mens owne chusing for their suposed good, then any stricte obligation from the word of God to bind their consciences; for then it ought to bind all vnto all, if they can attaine the same.

YONG-MEN.

We [des]ire to hear some of the answeres that may be giuen to the former grounds propossed by them.

ANCIENT-MEN.

The Presbyteriens them selues hold, that no pastoriall charge of preaching the word and administring the sacraments, is laid vpon any pastor, but to one conregation, according to Acts ·20· 28. Take heed to your selues and to all the flock wherof the Holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feed the church of God which he hath purchased with his owne blood; as you may see in the ·4· difference put by M^r Gilespie, betweene them and the prelates. And by the like reason his gouernment should be extended no further, as to classes, &c., synods, lower and higher. The power of the apostles in ruling in all churches was from their large comission, and extendible with thir comission to preach in all churches, they not being tyed to one flock as ordinary teachers are. Againe, it is said in Acts ·6· the apostles caled the multitud of the desciples, &c. And they chose the ·7· for deacons, &c. [torn] if this was a presbyterion, [torn] church, consisting of many pert[icul]er congregations, as they affirme, then these should

be deacons to all these perticuler churches (wich is contrary to their own principles), and so there should be as well a Diaconat-church as a Presbyteriall church.

Againe, the power of the keys (both for feeding & ruling) was giuen together to ecclesiæ primæ, the first church. And ther must be a first before there could be a consotiation; and why should ordination and excommunication, &c., be after taken from them and giuen to the classis? But we cannot stand in giuing reasons in this breefe discourse; we reffer you to the Reasons of the Discenting Breethren in Assembly of Deuines.

YONG-MEN.

But doe the Independants allow of no association or communion with other churches?

ANCIENT-MEN.

Yes, you shall hear what Mr. Burton,* (that reu^d and holy-man, & late sufferer) saith in answer to Mr. Prinne: We hould (saith he) comunion and association of churches, for counsell in doubts, and comfort in distres; but we deny such combination of churches as wherby the true liberty of euery perticuler church is taken away. And this communion of churches doth no lese (if not more) preuente heresies schismes & injustice, then your Presbyteriall, saith he. Vind^r fol^r 18.

All those perticuler churches which the apostles planted, (saith he) were all of absolute authority amongst them selues respectiuely, and equall, one to the other. You can shew vs no rule or exampell to the contrary. And for the patterne in the primatiue churches after the apostles, we are not curious to seeke it in the corrupte current of succeeding ages, when we find it in the pure fountaine. Yet the centurists say (Cent. 1^o 7^o Tit^o de Consoci: Eccle.) that the gouernment of churches in the 2^d 100^o year was allmost popular; euerie church had equall power of ordaining or casting out, if need were, those ministers they had ordained; with other things very materiall, (saith he) in that whol title, & in the title, de Sinodis Priuatis.

And for the best Reformed Churches, if in them we canot find that paterne so fully followed as the scripture holds forth vnto vs, (saith he) we craue leaue without prejudice to take it as we find it in the word, without the least variation.

* The Rev. Henry Burton, who, in 1637, with Prynne and Bastwick, suffered from the tyranny of the High-Commission Court. The title of the work cited is: "A Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent, in an Answer to Mr. Prynne," &c., 1644. — ED

And you may know, in the begining of Protestant reformation, how could they so clearly see in the dawning, as we may now in the meridian, if we will but open our eyes? Yet the Reformed Churches haue taken vp, one, or other of them, vpon the mater, the maine things we contend for. The church of Holland receiue none to the Lord's table nor to haue a vote as a member of that church, but such as first giue satisfaction to the eldership, and then to the congregation, and haue a forme of a couenant propounded by them. And the French-churches exercise excommunication in their perticular congregations, though with liberty of appeale, so as no long debate need to be, if but Christs word alone may take place. Vindication of the churches caled Independent, fol: 19. 20. Ther is no case, (saith he) can fall in any church which hath not as many helps by a free comunion of churches wherin euery churches peculiar libertyes and priuiledges are preserued as they ought to be; as any you can name to be in your obligatorie combination of churches, wherby the liberty of each church is by comone consent sould ouer to others, by which it ceaseth to be a free church of Christ vnder his only jurisdiction and gouernement. So as hereby great mischeefes may redound euen to the purest church, when once things come to be carried by the vote of a generall or classically assembly of deuines, swaying things beyond the rule and stretching them beyond their line. Famous was that saying of Nazianzens, that he neuer say* "any good to come of generall counsels," because, comonly, camelion-like, they chang their hue with the nearest object.

But some may object (saith Mr. Burton) that one church, standing by it selfe, is more subjecte to fall into errour, then when combined with other churches. To which he answers, that euery perticular church injoying its owne freedome with out combination with other churches, may much longer preserue it selfe from danger when it hath its free choyse in matters of difference or difficultie to consulte only with those churches which it knowes to be most sound and orthodox, then when it is fast bound & incircled with this or that combination of churches; being in number twelue or twenty, more or lese; whose votes must carrie euery controuersie according to the seuerall numbers of such and such, at all aduenture. Fol: 20. 21.

YONG-MEN.

We desire you would be pleased more fully to let vs vnderstand what the centuarists found in their search here about; for many think ther is nothing of antiquitie in this case.

* Sic. — Ed.

ANCIENT-MEN.

Thus writs another hereof, *Insigniores Ecclesiæ*, &c. They which were more eminent churches (say they) were in some honour because of the apostles that taught in them, and because of their ministers, that were more excellent for learning and constancy; and likewise of the benefits that those churches did afford to other neighbour churches. But they had no other power ouer other churches then by mutuall offices in things belonging to edification of the whole church, to afford them their help; and then instances in particular churches.

2. The churches in the next age after the apostles. Cent. 2. Chap. 7. tit: Consoci: If (say they) any man looke into the approued authors of this age, he shall find that the form of gouernment was allmost like a popular gouernment; for euery church had equall power to preach the word of God purely, to administer the sacraments, to absolue and excommunicat heretiques & wicked men, to elect, call and ordain ministers, and vpon just ground to depose them; to call assemblies & sinods in doubtfull things and that were controuersall; to desire the judgments of others in determining them. Further, the neighbour churches, for charity and edification sake, not for any superior iurisdiction, but for the command of Christ concerning mutuall loue, in their necessities craued the help of their neighbour churches and also afforded theirs; and in more waighty questions, all the churches or elders of that prouince, or else most of the teachers, came together and determined by comone aduice what was to be done. The churches that were farther off, in other prouinces, consult with other churches by letters, which they did generally, or by comone consent subscrib.

And in tit: de Sinodis Priuatis, each church (that things might be better ordered) had their synod, or assemblies, or church-metings, in which the pastor, the elders, the deacons, and also the people did deliberate & determine of things belonging to the gouernment of the church.

Thus you may see the churches of the Independent-way are not (beside the scriptures, which is the surest anchor-hould,) voyd of antiquitie.

YONG-MEN.

We are glad that these thinges are thus cleared vp vnto vs. And seeing you haue some of you liued in Holand, and we perceiue ther are differences amongst the Presbyterians them selues, we desire you to informe vs of their practisec in that cuntrie.

ANCIENT-MEN.

First, we conceiue that those ·7· reue^d men in ther answer to the Assemblee of Deuines, speake much within compass, when they say, that not the ·10· part in the Low-Countries are church members. For, though it seemes, in Scotland, and according to the modle of our nue structure in England, all within the circle & compase of their classeses or other diuisions, new or old, they intend them as members, (only the scandalus shall be suspended from the Lords table) yet it is not so ther; for they compell none, nor admite any but such as freely offer them selues; and those are examined of ther faith & knowledg, first by the consistorie, and then make a breefe confession in the publick assembly. And though ther city assemblies be very great, so as they cannot well know all their members, yet when they come to the Lords table they repaire to the consistorie, or elders, and ther receiue a token of lead, with a priuate marke, which they must giue in, when they come to pertake, by which they are knowne to be members, & without exception. Also in the case of excommunication, though the bussines be handled in the consistorie or classes, yet the sentence is made know in the congregation, & the cause; and the like in the case of release or absolution. Their meetings are in great temples or churches, in the cities, (like the bigger sort of ours in England) and if ther be ·2· ·3· or ·4· of them in a citie, yet the people assembled in them are counted but one church or body; and if ther be but ·3· ·4· or more, teaching elders or preachers, yet they teach to them all in comone as one flock, and so shift places by turnes (by agreement amonest them selues) at one plase one day, and at another the next day, and in the fore none here, and the afternoone ther. And sometimes the people will shift their quarters also as they affecte the men. Their rulling elders vsually are but for ·3· years, and besids what they doe in comone in the consistorie, with the other elders, each of them is assigned his quarter in the city, vnto which all the members in such a quarter or cirquet repair vp[on] any buisins, and he hath inspection ouer them. Their deacons likewise are but for ·3· years vsually.

But their city-churches are not so great, but in the countrie townes and villages they are as smale; for many times besids the elders you shall see but a few members & a small appearance; yea, so few, as we are loth to mention what hath bene seene. The reason is, the cuntrie people (the old inhabitants) are most of them Papists, or such as mind little religion.

They baptise all the children that are brought vnto them, without

exception, be they members or not members, their parents better or worse, good or bad.

Their ministers also marrie (such as come and desire it of them) in the face of the congregation, though ther be an order provided for marriage to be performed by the magistrats; and the more part so are.

They haue short formes prescribed for baptissing and marrying, &c. but they serue for direction for the weaker sort; they are not strictly tyed to them. Their publick and solemne worship is prayer, reading some portion of scripture, constant preaching, singing of psalmes and administring the sacraments.

Their dead are buried with graue decensie, without either reading, praier or singing, being accompanied by their friends and the neborhood to the graue in a comly sorte.

Their ministers goe in graue and desente apparell, and so minister; without retaining any reliques of popish ornaments. Their maintenance is not by tithes, but by honest and competent stipents, and that according to their eminencie in gifts and place; those in the cities haue more, they in the country less; yet none doe exceede.

Their pore are as well provided for, as in any part of the world, if not better. Their sick are vissited by graue and able persons, meete to comfort & instructe them, and are designed ther to. Thus we haue giuen you some thing in breefe, conscering their practise in these things. But, we must confesse, the greater part fall short of our ancient and more zealous professors in England for the expression of the life and power of godlynes.

YONG-MEN.

We humbly thanke you for this paines; we are very well satisfied herewith. But seeing the Presbyterians seeme to hold forth that greater justice and equity is like to be found by appeales from court to court in these high and standing judicatures, and the wronged and injured like to find better remedy and releefe then wher these are not in vse; as also peace, puritie, and truth beter conserued, errour & schisme preuented, &c., with such like effects, we desire to hear your opinion herein.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We are loth to enter into any such discourse, (comparisons are odious) and men will judg as they are affected or intressed. Mens wisdom in matters of religion most* giue way to Gods institutions, in

* Must? — Ed.

which his blessing is to be expected. If ancient histories be well looked into and considered, it will be found that errors & schismes and contentions, yea, jars & tumults, in churches & provinces, did neuer more abound then when councells & sinods (with obligatorie and coercive power) were most in vse in the world; as from the time of the Nicean councill downwarde. After that, sinods and meetinges, only consultative and swasive, as you herd those were in the first tow hundred years after Christ. After these were once turned into such as made binding canons, with cursing & anathamizing all that did not obey thereto, ther was nothing but garboils & troubles in the world. Calling of sinods, keeping of councells, pursuing of appeals; one reuersing what an other had done, till peace & truth was driuen into corners, and prid and ambition had gott the vpper hand and the Papasie exalted to the hight.

So as godly men, such as Nazianzens, began to abhor them. And Mr. Bullinger,* speaking of councells, affirms that in old time it grue into a prouerbe; how that euery counsell brings forth warre, and what the later haue been is well enough knoen. But to speake a word to the mater in hand: a man is delt with for some sin or scandal according to the rule of Christ; he will not hear his brother or is innocent; the rule is tell it to the Church. But what church? Surely in all reason that perticuler church wherof he is a member is most like to be fittest to trie his cause; who best knows him, and what his life & conuersation is, and hath been, amonge them. They also best know his accuser and the witnesses, and what credite they are of. They can soonest help him out of his sine if he be guiltie, or purge the church of him if he be not to be borne, or cleer him if he be innocent. And not to waite the meeting of the classes, or other courtes, and burthen the accuser & witnesses, to trauell, and waite, we know not how longe it may be, till they are weary, or canot bear the lose & charge, and so rather let men lye in ther sines then pull such a burthen vpon their nekes. And when they haue done what they can, if the party be froward or rich, he will apeale stil from one court to another, till he hath wearied and it may be vndon them all that pursue against him, and him selfe and his too, and yet the higher the cause goes, the less is it knowne; both in the persons intrressed ther in, or the circumstances about it, which is the life of the euidence.

* Mr. Henry Bullinger, an eminent Swiss reformer and voluminous writer, was born 1504, died 1577. — Ed.

It will be the like case if a pore godly man be vnjustly censured, by the means of some crafty breethren, or proud-presbiters. Ho, say they, he may appeale. Well, but how long may his apeale be tossed from court to court, and he dance attendance therin till he be weary or vndone, and, it may be, neuer see an end of it whilst he liues; or if he doe, if he be not the better able to manage his cause or be freinded by some that can doe it for him, when all is done he may sitt him downe both with the injurie and lose, and know not how to mende him selfe.

And therfore though we hope we may receiue it for truth, which Mr. Gillespie affirms in his '14' difference betweene them & the prelats, that did excommunicate for mony-matters and trifles, which they condemne, yet we see in maters of this nature there may be such occassions of expenses, that men must either beare the wrong or spend their money; yea, many times doe both. And in case, (as he saith) in the '15' difference, that they doe not, as the prelates did, thinke it enough for men to receiue things, because comanded or injoynd by them; but that they may serch the scriptures about them, that what they doe they may doe in faith; yet when they haue searched and they cannot find a ground for what their prouincall or nationall sinods injoynes, will they let them rest till a generall councell can be called to determine it? That indeed would be some ease because it is not like easily to be. It may be their Presbyteriall power may be ouertourned before that day. But we suppose they will giue no such respite, but must come vnder the penalty of what their synod decrees, though it be to banishment. And that is but a could answer which the Assemblie of Deuines make in this case to the Dissenting Breethren, to tell them the sinod inflicts no punishments. For so said the prelats in queene Maries dayes to those whom they condemned, they left them to the secular-power for execution.

These things considered, and many more instances that might be giuen (if it were meet to inlarge in so brefe a discourse), we freely confess we see not but that truth, peace, puritie, and justice, yea, and loue allso, may as well, (and much more) be maintained and prouided for in the amicable comunion of sister churches, then by these superioure and high-Presbiterion courts, and their coerciue-power, and pursuing appeales vnto them; more suiting with the kingdoms of the world then the humble frame of Christs gospell, w^{ch} is silent in any such matter.

The framing and squaring of the gouernment of the church according to the gouernment of the nations of the world, hath been the ground

of much error and mischeefe; as hath been rightly noted by some, that dioceses or patriarchships haue been first framed according to the diuissions of the Roman prouinces in that ancient empire; and the pope could neuer be satisfied till he had gott the emperour's place, and power, and constituted a senate of cardinals, as a court meet to sustaine his majestie, and suport his greatness, him self being head of an œcumenicall councell, and all the prouinciall & other subordinate sinods which so longe bore swaie in the world. And how many did emptie ther baggs in following appeales to these courts, histories doe giue vs presidents good store. And whether these Presbiteriall sinods in their method & structure doe not more ressemble them (though their judges be pares) then the simplisitie of the gospell, we leaue it to others to judg.

YONG-MEN.

We confesse these things which you haue mentioned are of great consideration, & may cause any to make a stand, and well to waigh, and ponder things, before they engage and enwrape them selues in such bonds, and inthraulments, so full of complication, as these may proue to be, vnder so many subordinations, and dependancies vpon so many higher courts and tribunalls. They had need in this case, take in that speech of Jethros to Moses, Exod. 28. 23. If thou doe this thing and God so command thee.

But our new English Presbiterians, and the present Scotch, (we obserue) they fasten much vpon a phrase in their late couenant, which they vehemently press, that the reformation w^h is now about in England, Ireland, &c., be according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches. We desire to hear your judgment how this is followed.

ANCENT-MEN.

We had much rather be silent than expresse our minds in such cases; but seeing you presse vs herein, we shall say thus much, that the speech or phrase they vse is good if it be sincerely practised. But we feare they more adhere (in some things) to the practise of the Reformed Churches, then to the word of God, which should haue the first & cheefe place. And in some things they rather follow the example of the worst, then the best Reformed Churches. And we wish (in some respectes) it may not be said of them as was of those in 2. of Kings 17. 34. They neither doe according to the word of God, nor according to the example of the best Reformed Churches; not that we would be

vnderstood to compare either their persons or cause to those ther; it is far from vs so to doe but in allusion to the phrase.

We find in an ordinance of Parlement made the 28th of August 1646^r for ordination of ministers (after aduice had with the assemblie of deuines now conuened at Westminster, as is therein expressed) how the ordination of ministers made by or deriued from any of the (cashered) prelates, is to be held valid, and not be disclaimed by any that haue receiued it, and that presbiters so ordained, being therunto appointed & authorized, may ordaine other presbiters. And it follows in the same acte; that euery person formerly ordained a presbyter (or preist) according to the forme of ordination which hath been held in the church of England, &c., is to bring a testimoniall of his ordination, &c., and being other wise found fitt he shall be admitted without any new ordination to the place he is designed vnto. The like for any minister remouing from Scotland to England, &c. See the ordinance more at large.

Now how this agrees with the word of God we know not, we would see it proued. And we conceiue it will as ill suit with the exampls of the best Reformed Churches. When Tilenus was pressed by the Earl of Laual in France, to know from whence Caluin had his calling, he flies not to the prelates of those times to deriue his calling or ordination from them, but answers roundly that he had it from the Church of Geneua and from Farell his predecessor, who had also his from the people of Geneua, who had right and authoritie to institute and depose ministers. Wheatenhall, pag 155.*

Wher doe they find in the Scriptures that ordination is such an indeliabie character, that a person once receiuing the same, though his flock cease, or he be remoued, that he must enter vpon an other without a new call and ordination, espetially when he hath receiued it from tiranus-vsurers, such as them selues held the bishops & prelates to be? Was it a fault (as we heard Mr. Gilespie hath noted before) in the prelates, to ordaine ministers without any perticuler flock, or charge, and must the same persons now enter vpon any, and one after another, without a new ordination?

Againe, what word of God doth warrent them to enclose all in a parish or prouince, within the flock of the church, as it seems their modle intends in Scotland & England? It is not sufficiente to say,

* See Jacob's "Attestation," p. 43. Daniel Tilenus was a learned Protestant Divine of the French church, born 1563, died 1633. — Ed.

they will suspend the scandalus or grosly ignorant from the Lords table. They haue noe example from the churches in the Low-Countries, and some others who herein are better reformed and more according to the word of God. What haue I to doe, (saith the apostle) to judge them that are without, also doe not yee judge them that are within? But God judgeth them without. 1. Cor. 5. 12. 13. Will you incircle and bind them vp vnder the power of your clases, to haue their tithes, and rule ouer them as the sheep of Christ, whether they appeare to be such or noe?

What ground is ther from the word of God for the baptising of all children, though it cannot be affirmed that either of their parents are, for the present, within the visible couenant of God, or meet members for the church? Indeed, herein they haue the example of the Reformed Churches. But we presume had some of the Reformed Churches had that light which these now haue or may haue, they would neuer haue taken vp that practise; but being taken vp & groune into custume, they cannot so easily lay it downe as well as some other things which they doe not much approue of, at least some of them.

But we will no further enlarge in these thinges, but leaue them to your consideration to examine them by the word of God, and as you shall haue light and direction from thence so judge of them, for that is the safest rule, the true touch-stone. It is the word of truth. John 17. 17. Thy word is trueth. To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word it is because ther is no light in them. Isa. 8. 20. And Doctor Whittakers* saith well; that the custome of the church is but the custome of men; the sentence of the fathers is but the opinion of men; and the determination of councells are but the judgments of men.

Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est.

YONG-MEN.

We humble thanke you for this paines, and we shall desire the Lord to make his word to be a lampe vnto our feete and a light vnto our pathes; that we may walk in his ways and make choyse of his statutes. But we pray you to let vs hear something of the Independents judgmente, or the Congregationall way.

ANCIENT-MEN.

Quod verum est, serum non est.

* William Whitaker, an eminent English Divine and Protestant writer of the 16th century; born, 1547; died, 1595. — Ed

OF THE INDEPENDENTS, OR CONGREGATIONALL WAY.

And first for the name, *Independents*, you are to know it is not a name of choise made by any of them sélues, but a title imposed by others which are their opposits. Therfore thus writs Mr. Burton in answer to Mr. Prinne: We would not you should giue vs this name, as a nick-name or a name of reproach or badg of scorne; not that you should call vs so as if we denied subjection to ciuill authority in maters of ciuill gouernment, nor yet that you should meane such an independencie, as if we held not good correspondencie with all sister churches by way of consociation, consultation, cōmunion, cōmunication, mutuall consolation, supportation, and (in a word) in all things, duties & offices, as wherin Christs kingdome is held vp, the graces of the churchs exercised, and the liberties of each church preserued intire, which is the glory of Christ. Vindication, pag. 42.

Mr. Cotton saith (also) that it is no fitt name for our churches, in that it holdeth vs forth as independent from all others. Whereas indeed wee doe professe dependencie vpon magistrats for ciuill goerment & protection, dependencie vpon Christ and his word for the soueraigne goerment & rule of our administrations, dependence vpon the councell of other churches & sinods when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of shuch help from them. Ans. to Mr. Baylie, pag. 11.*

Of the Antiquitie of the Independent or Congr[eg]ationall-way & Gouerment, compared with Classicall, Mr. Cotton thus writs in answer to Mr. Baylie:

The way of God is the old way. Jer. 6. 16. Yea so old as fetcheth his antiquitie from the Ancient of Dayes, euen from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the way of truth & life. Id verum, quod primum; id primum quod ab initio. Ther is no false way, but is an aberration from the first institution. Giue me leaue therfore (saith he) to professe freely, without offence, what I truly beleue with out scruple; that though the acts of church-gouerment (in the ordination of officers, and censures of offenders) by the prebyters of neighbour churches be

* John Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: In two Treatises. In the former, from the Historical Aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie, in his Book, called *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*," &c. London, 1648. — Ed.

very ancient, yet not more ancient then *Humanus Episcopatus*, (as Beza calleth it), nor so ancient as the way of Congregationall gouernment of each church within itselfe, by the space of 300 years. I will not here speak of those texts of scripture, (saith he,) of Mat 18 15 16 17 and 1 Cor 5 but refferr them, &c.

But in the first century, whilst the apostles liued, we read of no acte of church-power put forth by the elders of churches ouer absent congregations, but only in Acts 15 28 16 4. But let it be considered :

1. That this sinod was not status conuentus, a monthly or yearly assembly, the ordinary standing judicatory of the church ; nor assembled for administration of ordinary church-power (as ordination of officers, or censuring of offenders), but called together vpon vrgent and vnwonted occation, the dissention of the church of Antioch, which both craued & needed direction in such a case. Act 15 1 2. And we easily grant (what we willing practise in a Congregationall way) that neither doctrine, nor discipline, can well proceed vnto publick edification, when the church is rent with dissention. And when a congregation wanteth agreement and peace amongst them selues, it is then a way of God, (according to Acts 15 2) to consult with some other church or churches, either by them selues or their messengers mett in a sinod. But then they send not to them for power to administer any ordinance amongst themselues ; but for light to satisfie discenters, and so to remoue the stumbling block of the suspition of mal-administration of their power out of the way. But otherwise, when churches want not peace nor light to excercise that power without distraction, which the Lord hath giuen them, Christ doth not directe his churches to gather into a sinod for remouing of known offences, either in doctrine or maners, &c.

2^d. The synod at Ierusalem, Acts 15 was not a conuention or consistorie of elders, apart from breethren, but such a number of bretheren were admitted into the assembly as carried the name of a whole church, &c. If the classes doe admite the bretheren of the church wher they meet, to sitt with the elders in debating & determining the maters of the sinod, euen such a number, as may denominat them a whole church ; as then they shall come nerer to the primatiue pattern, so they may expecte a freer passage of the presence of the Holy Ghost with them.

3^d. That synod hauing heard & argued the whole cause in controuersie, they gaue their judgment both of the doctrine taught at

Antioch, & of the persons that taught it, as troublesome to the church & subuersiue to their soules, and vnwarented by themselves; neuertheless, they neither excommunicated them them selues, nor comānd the church to excommunicate them, but leaue the church to exercise ther owne power according to the rule of the word, if any should be found obstinately to persiste in such pernicious doctrine after conuiction. And, 4th saith he, though we dare not allow alike equall power to ordenarie synods, vnless they had the like equall-presence and assistance of infallible guides, (such as the apostles were) &c., yet our Congregationall-way doth allow a power in synods to directe & appointe what spirituall prudence from the word shall determine. But it is one thing to directe & charge churches from the word of the Lord, what should be done by them; and another thing to doe their acts of power for them. The one guideth them in the vse & exercise of it, the other taketh their power, or at least the exercise of it, out of their hands, which is more then the pattern of synods (in Acts. 15.) doth hold forth.

In the second century of yeares, (saith he) the church-gouernment was administred not in a Classicall but in a Congregationall-way, as in the former centuary, of which we need no better euidence then the euident testimony of the Magdeburgenses,* in the 2^d Cent. Chap. 7. tit. de Consoci: Say they, si quis probatos authores hujus perspiciat, videbit Formam Gubernationis propemodum *Ἀποστολικῆς* similem fuisse, &c. The rest you haue heard before, so we omit it.† Then he concluds: What is Congregationall gouernment, and Independent from other churches and presbyteris, if this be not? Though he mentioneth conuentions & synods, yet he speaketh of them not as hauing power to gouerne the churches, but of the churches as haueing power to gather them. But the synods left the power of chosing, calling, ordaining ministres, of censuring offenders and of absouluing penitents, to the single churches, each one enjoying equall power within them selues. The help which neighbour churches yeilded one to another, was not

* This reference is to a work called the "Centuries of Magdeburg," which form an Ecclesiastical History, carried down to 1298, compiled by various Protestant Divines of Magdeburg, and entitled, "Historia Ecclesiastica, congesta per Magdeburgenses et alios;" the best edition of which was published at Baale, in 1682, in 13 vols. fol. Matthias Francowitz Illyricus, an earnest defender of the Protestant faith (born in 1520, died in 1575), began and had the chief direction of the work. Matthew Judex was one of the principal writers of the first two Centuries, the latter of which is here cited from Cotton. Bradford cites the first two Centuries of this work on pages 447 and 449. (See Watt.) — Ed.

† See pages 447 and 449. — Ed.

cum imperio, & subjectione, (as he speaketh in the same place) not with dominion of some & subjection of others; but out of brotherly loue & care, & desire of mutuall edification.

In the 3^d century of years, the church enjoyed, (to vse the words of the Centurists, Cent 3^d chap 7th) almost the like forme of gouernment, according to the course of the former age, though somewhat enlarged by ambition.

And as in other things he aledgeth Cyprian pertenant to the mater in hand, so out of the 10th Epis of the 3^d Book, (towards the end) he professeth his resolution to performe no acte of Church gouernment, without the consent of the elders & deacons and bretherne of the church. All these are expresse lineaments (saith Mr. Cotton) of the very body of Congregationall discipline, the same (for substance) wherein we walk at this day. And therefore let it not be slighted or dispised as a nouell inuention, of seuen, or twenty, or 50th years standing. See Mr. Cottons Ans. to Mr. Baylie, pag 93^d to pag 99^d.

OF THE FRUITS OF CONGREGATIONALL DISCIPLINE IN THE PRIMITIUE TIMES.

Presupposing (saith Mr. Cotton) it hath been proued that our congregationall discipline is the same (for substance) wherein the primitiue churches walked for the first 300th years, (to wit, during all the time of the primitiue persecutions) I conceiue we may without arrogancie, (saith hé) acknowledge the fruits of their discipline to be ours.

First, their exacte strictnes in examining & trying their catechumenie, before they recieued them into Ecclesiam Fidelium, it brought forth this sauory & spirituall fruit, the purity of churches.

And as their strict examination receiued their members pure, so their strict censure kept them pure.

2^{dy} From this puritie & vigilancy of their discipline in the admission of their members and in the administration of their censures, ther sprang forth many other gratiuous fruits, as their holy & constant & confidante confessions of the name of Christ before judgment seats, the patient and glorious martyrdumes of innumerable saints, to the conuiction and astonishment of a world of persecutors; whence sprung the conuersion of a great part of the world vnto the truth.

But afterwards, in the days of Constantine, when the externall peace & libertie of the Churches encouraged all sorts of men (cleane and vncleane) to offerr themselues to the fellowship of the Church, and Congregationall discipline began to be neglected through the vsurped authority of the bishops and presbyters, the limits of the church began to be as large as the precincts of the parish, and the church it selfe, (which before was wonte to be as a garden enclosed) did now become as a wildernes, lying open to all the beasts of the field. Who so would offerr him self, might haue free passage into the bosome of the church. And offerr them selues they did, for outward respects & preferment, &c. But this inundation of corrupt members was preuented, by the vigilancie of Congregationall discipline whilst it stood in force in the former centuries.

3^{ty} This was an other good fruit of the Congregationall discipline in those primatiue times, that whilst it tooke place in the churches ther could be no place nor way open for the aduancement of antichrist; no, nor for vsurpation of Episcopall prelacie, for whilst euery church kept their gouernment within their owne congregation, they knew not the heauie & lordly yoke of Cathedrall-churches, much less were they troden downe with the impositions frō the Sea of Rome.

And for the fruits of Congregationall discipline, as it hath been exercised amongst vs (saith he) (though in much weaknes,) the Lord hath not left vs without testimony from Heauen.

First, in making these churches a little sanctuary to many 1000 of his seruants who fled ouer hither to auoyde the vnsupportable pressures of their consciences by the Episcopall tyranny.

2^{ty} in blessing the ministry of our preachers here, with like fruits of conuersione (as in our natiue countrie) of sundrie both elder & yonger persons who came ouer hither, not out of conscience, but out of respecte to freinds, or outward inlargments; but haue here found that grace which they sought not for.

3^{ty} in discovering & suppressing those errors of Antinomians & Familists which brake forth here amongst vs, & might haue proceeded to the subuersion of many soules, had not the blessing of Christ vpon the vigilancy of Congregationall discipline either preuented or removed or healed the same.

4^{ty} it hath been also a testimony from Heauen, of Gods blessing vpon our way, that many thousands in England in all the quarters of the kingdome, haue been awakened to consider of the cause of church-discipline, for which we haue suffered this hazardous & voluntary

banishment into this remote wildernes, and haue therfore by letters conferred with vs about it, & been (through mercy) so farr enlightened, as to desire an vtter subuersion of Episcopacy; yea, and the Honourable Houses of Parlemeute, the Lord hath pleased to help them so farr to consider of our sufferings, and of the causes therof, as to conclude a necesitie of reformation of the Ecclesiasticall state, (amongst other causes, so) by reason of the necessitie put vpon so many English subjects to depart from all our employments in our native country, for conscience sake.

And, in England (saith he):

5. If books & letters & reports doe not deceiue vs with false intelligence, the great and gracious & glorious victories, wherby the Lord hath wrought saluation for England in these late warres, haue been as so many testimonies of the blessing of God vpon our way. For the cheefest instruments which God hath delighted to vse herein, haue been the faith and fidelity, the courage & constancy of Independents. And when I say Independents, I meane not those corrupt sects & heresies which shroud themselues under the vast title of Independencie, and in the meane time cast off all church gouernment and churches too; but such as profess the kingdome of Christ in the gouernment of each holy congregation of saints within them selues. Mr. Cottons Ans: to Mr. Baylie, pag 100. 101. 103.*

Of their loue and loyalty see what Mr. Burton writeth and affirmeth against Mr. Prinne, (who taxed them herein): We dare (saith he) challenge all the world in poynt of fidelity to the state, and our native country; who do pray more frequently, more feruently for them? so that herein you cannot say we are Independents, as for want of loue and that of the best kind to the publick cause & state, as we are ready to help & serue it with our best abilities. And for true charitablnes, (brother, saith he) wher is it to be found if not in those churches you call Independent? But you will say this our loue is among our selus; and God grant it may euer be so; yet it ends not ther, but extends to all. And for a close, (saith he) I challenge you to shew me one parochiall congregation in England, wherin ther is or can be the like loue, one to another, the like care, one for another, the like spirituall watchfullnes one ouer an other, the like union & communion of members in one

* In the long citations which Bradford here makes from Cotton, I may remark, that, while he generally quotes whole passages, word for word, he sometimes abbreviates.—
ED.

misticall body in a sympathy of affections; in such a fraternitie as is described, Psa ·133· a liuely tipe of a true church of Christ. M^r Burtons Ans. to M^r. Prine, pag ·47·

YONG-MEN.

These are blessed fruits; and hapy are those churches in which they may be found, and wherin they continue and abide. These are of the Lords planting and are not to be found in euery garden. The Lord purge & prune his churches, and water them with the dew of Heauen, that they may continue to bring forth fruit vnto him; that we may inioye a parte in this blessing in our dayes.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We haue the rather noted these thinges, that you may see the worth of these things, and not negligently loose what your fathers haue obtained with so much hardshipe; but maintaine these priuiledges which not man, but the Lord Jesus, the King of the Church, hath purchased for you. You see how when they were lost in the former ages, both what euill and miserie followed therupon, and how longe & with what difficulty it was, before they could in any purity be recouered againe. They were lost by slouth and security in the people; and by pride & ambition in the bishops & elders. But it hath cost much blood & sweat in the recouerie; and will doe no lesse care and pains in the keeping of them. It will require much praier, zeale, holines, humilitie, vigilancie and loue, & peace, with a spirite of meeknes, that liberty be not abused, and by prid & faction turned into licentiousnes. Stand fast in the libertie (saith the apostle, Gal ·5· 1·) wher with Christ hath made vs free. Yee haue been caled vnto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by loue serue one another. Though the Appostle speaketh this something in another case, yet it will take in this also.

We beseech you breethren, to know them which labour among you, and are ouer you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteeme them very highly in loue for their works sake, and be at peace among yourselves. 2 Thes ·5· 12· 13· Obey them that haue the rule ouer you, and submite your selues, for they watch for your soules as they that must giue accounte; that they may doe it with joye and not with greefe, for that is vnprofitable for you. Heb ·13· 17· For wher loue & peace and brotherly forbearance are wanting in churches, ther will neuer be that edification, and sweet closure in amicable affection, that

ought to be. And this we are abundantly taught in the primitive patterne of churches, as well as any other things. And they doe as much conduce to spirituall fruitfullnes.

We had thought to haue giuen you some of their cheefe grounds breefly, from the Scriptures, of what they hold & practissee; but time will not now suffer vs; and they haue been partly touched before in this discourse, and are sufficiently handled in many books, by diuerse excelente-men, both learned, godly, and very judicious, as any these later times haue afforded, to which we referre you.

Only this we comende vnto your consideration, that vpon examenation, you shall find the scriptures which they lay their grounds vpon, to be taken in their proper, true, and natieue, genuine sence; agreeing with the best and most godly expositors, viz., most of those shineing lights that God hath reased vp in the Reformed Churches & before; without straining, wresting or writhing of them, as some others seeme to doe in their forced interpretations; so full of obscurity, as they darken that which shines clear enough in the text it selfe, as might be showne in many instances if time would permite.

But we will here cease, and put an end to this conference, desireing the Lord to guid you in his trueth, and establish you in the same, vnto the ende of your dayes, and that you may help to propagate the same, to the generations to come, till the coming of the Lord.

YONG-MEN.

We humbly thanke you for this labour of your loue, and paines you haue taken for our infformation. We confesse wee shall be able hereby more groundedly to discerne of the differences of all those fore-recited wayes. And we hope the Lord will help vs to trye all things, and hold that which is good. 2. Thes. 5. 21. And wee craue the continuance of your prayers for vs that so we may doe; and so doe humbly take our leaue.

μόνη σοφῶ θεῶ, διὰ ἡσού χειρῶ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

ROM. 16. 27.

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

[V E R S E S.]*

יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עֲמָנִי מִשּׁוֹב לִנְי אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֵלָה

Psa: 46. 12.

Spes una hominē nec morte reliquit.

Some observations of God's merciful dealing with us in this wilderness, and his gracious protection over us these many years. Blessed be his name.

Firma fides turris est fortissima.

In this wilderness we lived have here,
In happy peace this four and thirty year,†
Amongst a people without God or Law,
Or fear of aught that might keep them in awe.
Their government, if any such there be,
Is nothing else but a mere tyranny.

* The following clause occurs in Governor Bradford's last will, which was presented for probate 3d June, 1657, the month following his death:—

"I commend unto your wisdom and discretion some small books written by my own hand to be improved as you shall see meet. In special I commend to you a little book with a black cover, wherein there is A Word to Plymouth, A Word to Boston, and A Word to New England, with sundry useful verses."

In Volume III, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., First Series, pp. 77-84 (issued in 1794), is published, what Dr. Belknap calls, "A Descriptive and Historical Account of New England in verse; from a MS. of William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth Colony." It was a fragment. Dr. Belknap thus introduces the verses: "The following lines, having some relation to the soil, the productions, and the history of the country, are now first printed on that account, and not for any poetical beauties to be discovered in them. They may afford some entertainment; and as they seem to be within the views of the Society, they are submitted to the public." The original manuscript, in the fragmentary form in which it was published, was recovered among some Belknap papers which

† This shows that Bradford is here writing in the year 1654. — Ed.

Some customs they have, and skill* pretend,
 Yet lust's their law and will's their utmost end,
 For the strongest the weaker still oppress,
 They may complain but seldom find redress.
 Their Lords the chiefest men seek for to please,
 By them to grab the rest with greater ease.
 Their lands, their goods, daughters, or wives, they'll take,
 And keep and use them for their pleasures sake,

were presented to the Society by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, in March, 1858, a notice of which will be found in a report to the Society on that donation, in the Proceedings for that month, at page 317.

In 1838 there was published in Volume VII., Third Series of the Collections, at pages 27, 28, the lines entitled, "Of Boston in New England," and "A Word to New England"; prefixed to which the Publishing Committee, after referring to the earlier published verses, say: "Of a like strain are the lines that follow, and as, from the reference to them in the Governor's will, of which we subjoin an extract, they were by him commended to preservation, we rescue them from the original manuscript, where for more than one hundred and sixty years they have remained in obscurity."

In the Cabinet of the Historical Society is a small quarto volume containing an early transcript of these several pieces by Governor Bradford, of which mention is made in his will. I recite them in the order in which they appear. First is "A Word to New Plymouth," which, so far as I am aware, has never been published, and is now printed here. Then follows "A Word to New England," and "Of Boston in New England," which are published as above named. Then comes a piece called "Epitaphium Meum," which was printed by Morton in his Memorial, at pages 264, 265, of Judge Davis's edition; but omitting, very properly, some quotations from Scripture, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The concluding verses are entitled "Some observations of God's merciful dealing with us in this wilderness; and his gracious protection over us these many years. Blessed be his name." This is the piece printed by Dr. Belknap, in a fragmentary form, in 1794, above referred to, and to which he prefixed a title of his own; the first part, consisting of *seventy-nine lines*, being wanting. As these can now be supplied from this early transcript, the whole has been printed here. Some omissions and errors in the part before printed have been corrected by collation with the original manuscript, as well as with the early copy.

Prefixed to these verses of Bradford, in the little volume referred to, is a much longer piece, also in verse, on the subject of the religious sects which abounded in England and on the Continent during the period of the Long Parliament. The first part of it is wanting. I am not sure that this was penned by Bradford, and it is of little historical importance. It is possible that the little book, which has been bound within, I should say, twenty-five years, may be part of a Commonplace Book, in which the verses of different authors were collected by its owner. At the foot of the page which concludes the "Epitaphium Meum," is written in the same handwriting as that of the body of the book, "Johannis Williss Hick Libour Ano Dom 1657"; and at the end of the book is this: "Liber meus Ano Dom 1657 John Willette." The name is written, in both cases, in the same hand, with great clearness. The date is the year of Bradford's death.

As the verses here printed are not taken entirely from Bradford's own manuscript, I have thought it best to modernize the spelling of the whole. — Ed.

* In the MS. this word looks like *still*.

Or else dispose of them to such they will,
 As their covetous humor will fulfill.
 And if that any do their force oppose,
 In great danger they go their lives to loose.
 Their weakest neighbours they sought to invade,
Sans cause, and when some slaughter they have made,
 And Captives (with pillage) have torn away,
 The rest (poor wretches) do without delay,
 As now subdued, sue for peace and submit
 To such hard terms as their new Lords think fit;
 And them with gifts and yearly tribute please,
 If they will live in any peace or ease.
 When as these things I deeply think upon,
 I may admire that we have lived so long
 Among these folks so brutish and savage,
 Without tasting of their Indian's rage.
 It is God's goodness and only mercy,
 That hath us kept from their fierce cruelty;
 For else long before this we might have been
 Made as miserable as any have been seen.
 Hitherto through grace we have lost no blood,
 But rather by them often have found good;
 Nor woman wronged in her chastity
 By any of them, through Gods great mercy.
 He that kept Abraham in that heathen land,
 And Isaac whilst in Gera he remained,
 And caused that their wives should not wronged be
 By those great Princes, in their chastity,
 He only it is that hath kept us here
 'Mongst these rude men, who Law nor God do fear;
 And hath upon their hearts put such a dread,
 As they of us have rather stood afraid.
 When we came first we were in number small,
 Not much above a hundred in all { *Ano Dom* }
 And in a number we did here arrive, { 1620 }
 And by God's mercy were all brought alive.
 But when we came, here was no house, nor town,
 Nor certain place we knew where to sit down.
 Nor any friends of whom we could expect
 Us for to help or any way direct.

Some forth were sent to seek a place fitting,
Where we might harbour and make our dwelling.
But in a place where one cold night they lay,
They were assaulted about break of day
By these Indians with great clamour loud,
Whose arrows fell like to a dropping cloud.
Yet none were hurt, though some had clothes shot through,
But them repelled from this their rendezvous,
And with their muskets made them fly & run,
So that long after none at us would come.
But now sharp winter storms come us upon,
So here we made our habitation;
And till such time as we could houses get,
We were exposed to much cold and wet,
With such disease as our distempers bred,
So that within the space of three months tide
The full half of our weak company died,
And the condition of the rest was sad,
But the Lord compassion on them had,
And them again to health and strength restore,
And cheered them up with courage as before,
And hath enabled them for to go on
And with comfort the work to lead along;
And many of them still there be
And some their children's children married see.*

Famine once we had, wanting corn and bread,
But other things God gave us in the stead,
As fish and ground nuts, to supply our strait,
That we might learn on providence to wait;
And know by bread man lives not in his need,
But by each word that doth from God proceed.
But a while after plenty did come in,
From his hand only who doth pardon sin.
And all did flourish like the pleasant green,
Which in the joyful spring is to be seen.

* All the preceding lines are wanting in the original manuscript of these verses as now extant; having disappeared before the manuscript came into the possession of Dr. Belknap, seventy-six years ago. The early transcript to which I have before referred supplies the missing lines. — ED.

Almost ten years we lived here alone,
In other places there were few or none;
For Salem was the next of any fame,
That began to augment New England's name.
But after multitudes began to flow,
More than well knew themselves where to bestow;
Boston then began her roots to spread,
And quickly soon she grew to be the head,
Not only of the Massachusetts Bay,
But all trade and commerce fell in her way.
And truly 'tis admirable to know
How greatly all things here began to grow.
New plantations were in each place begun,
And with inhabitants were filled soon.
All sorts of grain which our own land doth yield,
Was hither brought, and sown in every field,
As wheat and rye, barley, oats, beans, and pease.
Here all thrive, and they profit from them raise;
All sorts of roots and herbs in gardens grow,
Parsnips, carrots, turnips, or what you'll sow,
Onions, melons, cucumbers, radishes,
Skirrets, beets, coleworts, and fair cabbages.
Here grows fine flowers many, and 'mongst those,
The fair white lily and th' sweet fragrant rose.
Many good wholesome berries here you'll find,
Fit for man's use, almost of every kind.
Pears, apples, cherries, plums, quince, and peach,
Are now no dainties; you may have of each.
Nuts and grapes of several sorts here are,
If you will take the pains them to seek for.

Cattle of every kind do fill the land:
Many now are kill'd, and their hides are tann'd,
By which men are supply'd with meat and shoes,
Or what they can, though much by wolves they lose.
Here's store of cows, which milk and butter yield,
And also oxen, for to till the field,
Of which great profit many now do make,
If they've a fit place and able pains do take.

Horses likewise now here do multiply,
They prosper well, and yet their price is high.
Here are swine, good store, and some goats do keep,
But now most begin to get store of sheep,
That with their wool their bodies may be clad,
In time of straits, when things cannot be had ;
For merchants keep the price of cloth so high,
As many are not able the same to buy.
And happy would it be for the people here,
If they could raise cloth for themselves to wear ;
And if they do themselves hereto apply,
They would not be so low, nor some so high.
When as I look back, I cannot but smile,
For to think how some did themselves beguile ;
When cattle first went at so high a rate,
They did not think how soon they might abate ;
For many then began to look too high,
Whose hopes, soon after, in the dust did lie.
So vain is man ! if riches do abide
A little, he's soon lift up with pride.
A cow then was at twenty pounds and five,
Those who had increase could not choose but thrive ;
And a cow-calf ten or twelve pounds would give,
As soon as weaned, if that it did live.
A lamb or kid was forty shillings price,
Men were earnest for them lest they should rise.
And a milch goat was at three or four pound ;
All cattle at such prices went off round.
In money and good cloth they would you pay,
Or what good thing else that you would say.
And both swine and corn was in good request ;
To the first comers this was a harvest.

But that which did 'bove all the rest excel,
God, in his word, with us he here did dwell ;
Well ordered churches in each place there were
And a learn'd ministry was planted here.
All marvell'd and said, " Lord, this work is thine,
In the wilderness to make such lights to shine."

And truly it was a glorious thing,
Thus to hear men pray, and God's praises sing,
Where these natives were wont to cry and yell
To Satan, who 'mongst them doth rule and dwell.
Oh, how great comfort was it now to see
The churches to enjoy free liberty!
And to have the gospel preach'd here with power,
And such wolves repell'd as would else devour;
And now with plenty their poor souls were fed,
With better food than wheat, or angels' bread;
I'the green pastures they may themselves solace,
And drink freely of the sweet springs of grace;
A pleasant banquet is prepar'd for these,
Of fat things, and rich wine upon the lees;
"Ho! eat, my friends, (saith Christ) and drink freely,*
Here's wine and milk, and all sweet spicery;
The honey and its comb is here to be had,
I myself for you have this banquet made:
Be not dismayed, but let your heart rejoice
In this wilderness, O let me hear your voice;
My friends you are; whilst you my ways do keep,
Your sins I'll pardon, and your good I'll seek."
And they, (poor souls,) again to Christ do say,
"O Lord, thou art our hope, our strength, and stay;
Who giv'st unto us all these thy good things;
Us shelter still in th' shadow of thy wings.
So we shall sing and laud thy name with praise,
'Tis thine own work, to keep us in thy ways;
Uphold us still, O thou which art most high,
We then shall be kept, and thy name glorify.
Let us enjoy thyself, with these means of grace,
And in our hearts shine, with light of thy face.
Take not away thy presence, nor thy word,
But, we humbly pray, us the same afford."

To the north, or south, or which way you'll wind,
Churches now are spread, and you'll pasture find.

* [Solomon's] Song 5: 1. — BRADFORD'S NOTE.

Many men of worth, for learning and great fame,
Grave and godly, in to these parts here came :
As HOOKER, COTTON, DAMFORD, and the rest,
Whose names are precious and elsewhere express'd;
And many amongst these, you might soon find,
Who (in some things) left not their like behind.
But some of these are dead, and others aged be,
Lord, do thou supply, in thy great mercy.
How these their flocks did feed, with painful care,
Their labours, love, and fruitful works declare;
They did not spare their time and lives to spend,
In the Lord's work, unto their utmost end :
And such as still survive do strive the more,
To do like them that have gone before.
Take courage then, for ye shall have reward
That in this work are faithful to the Lord.
Example take hereby, you that shall come
In after time when these their race have run.

A prudent Magistracy here was placed,
By which the Churches defended were and graced ;
And this new commonwealth in order held,
And sin, and foul iniquity, was quell'd :
Due right, and justice, unto all was done
(Without delay) ; men's suits were ended soon.
Here were men sincere, and upright in heart,
Who from justice and right would not depart.
Men's causes they would scan and well debate,
(But all bribes and corruption they did hate).
The truth to find out they would use all means,
And so, for that end, they would spare no pains.
Whilst things thus did flourish and were in their prime,
Men thought it happy and a blessed time,
To see how sweetly all things did agree.
Both in th' Church and State, there was true amity ;
Each to other mutual help did lend,
And to God's honour all their ways did tend,
In love and peace, his truth for to retain,
And God's service how best for to maintain.

Some of these are gone, others do grow gray,
Which doth show us they have not long to stay.
But God will still for his people provide
Such as be able them to help and guide,
If they cleave to him, and do not forsake
His laws and truth, and their own ways do take.
If thou hast view'd the camp of Israel,
How God in th' wilderness with them did dwell,
And led them long in that dangerous place,
Through fears and trials for so long a space;
And yet they never saw more of his glory,
Than in this time where he advanced them high.
His great and marvellous works they here saw,
And he them taught in his most holy law.
A small emblem hereof thou mayest see,
How God hath dealt with these in some degree;
For much of himself they now here have seen,
And marvellous to them his works have been.

I am loath (indeed) to change my theme,
Thus of God's precious mercies unto them;
Yet I must do it, though it is most sad,
And if it prove otherwise, I shall be glad.
Methinks I see some great change at hand,
That ere long will fall upon this poor land;
Not only because many are took away,
Of the best rank, but virtue doth decay,
And true godliness doth not now so shine,
As some whiles it did, in the former time;
But love and fervent zeal do seem to sleep;
Security and the world on men do creep;
Pride and oppression, they do grow so fast,
As all goodness they will eat out at last.
Whoredom, and drunkenness, with other sin,
Will cause God's judgments soon to break in,
And whimsy errors have now got such head,
And, under notion of conscience, do spread,
So as whole places with them now are stain'd,
Whereas goodness, sometimes before hath reign'd.

Where godliness abates, evil will succeed,
And grow up apace like to the noisome weed;
And if there be not care their growth to stop,
All godliness it soon will overtop.
Another cause of our declining here,
Is a mixt multitude, as doth appear.
Many for servants hither were brought,
Others came for gain, or worse ends they sought;
And of these, many grow loose and profane,
Though some are brought to know God and his name.
But thus it is, and hath been so of old,
As by the Scriptures we are plainly told;
For when as from Egypt God's people came,
A mixed multitude got in 'mongst them,
Who with the rest murmur and lust did they,
In wants, and fell at Kibroth Hataavah.
And whereas the Lord doth sow his good seed,
The enemy, he brings in tares and weed;
What need therefore there is that men should watch,
That Satan them not at advantage catch;
For ill manners and example are such,
As others do infect and corrupt much:
Chiefly if they be unstaid and young,
And with ill persons do converse among;
Yea some are so wretched and full of vice,
As they take pleasure others to entice;
And though it be a thing most vile and bad,
Yet they will do it, and thereat be glad;
And laugh and scoff, when any they draw in
For to do evil, and to commit sin.
But let these, (and all) profane scoffers, know,
That unto God they do a reckoning owe,
And to account (ere long) he will them bring,
When they must answer for this, their foul sin.
Was't not enough? for them evil to do,
But they must needs cause others do so too?
Herein (indeed) they act the devil's part,
(And if they repent not,) with him they'll smart;
For God to such is a consuming fire,
And they shall perish in his dreadful ire.

But a most desperate mischief here is grown,
And a great shame it is it should be known:
But why should I conceal so foul a thing,
That quickly may our hurt and ruin bring!
For base covetousness hath got such sway,
As our own safety we ourselves betray;
For these fierce natives, they are now so fill'd
With guns and muskets, and in them so skill'd,
As that they may keep the English in awe,
And when they please, give unto them the law;
And of powder and shot they have such store,
As (sometimes) they refuse for to buy more;
Flints, screw-plates, and moulds for all sorts of shot
They have, and skill how to use them have got;
And mend and new stock their pieces they can,
As well (in most things) as an Englishman.
Thus like madmen we put them in a way,
With our own weapons us to kill and slay;
What gain hereof to make they know so well,
The fowl to kill, and us the feathers sell.
For us to seek for deer it doth not boot,
Since now (with guns) themselves at them can shoot.
That garbage, of which we no use did make,
They have been glad to gather up and take;
But now they can themselves fully supply,
And the English of them are glad to buy.
And yet, if that was all, it might be borne,
Though hereby th' English make themselves a scorn;
But now they know their advantage so well,
And will not stick, (to some) the same to tell,
That now they can when they please or will,
The English drive away, or else them kill.
Ho! base wretched men, who thus for their gain
Care not at all, if their neighbours be slain!
How can they think that this should do them good,
Which thus they purchase with the price of blood!
I know it is laid upon the French and Dutch,
And freely grant that they do use it much,
And make thereof an execrable trade,
Whereby those natives one another invade;

By which also the Dutch and French do smart
(Sometimes,) by teaching them this wicked art;
But these (both) from us more remote do lie,
And ours from them can have no full supply.
In these quarters, it's English guns we see,
For French and Dutch, more slight and weak they be;
And these Indians are now grown so wise,
As, in regard of these, theirs do despise.
Fair fowling-pieces, and muskets they have,
(All English,) and keep them both neat and brave;
And to our shame, speak it we justly may,
That we are not furnished so well as they;
For traders them will sell at prices high,
When as their neighbors of them cannot buy.
Good laws have been made this evil to restrain,
But, by men's close deceit they are made vain.
The Indians are nurtured so well,
As, by no means, you can get them to tell
Of whom they had their guns, or such supply,
Or, if they do, they will feign some false lie;
So as, if their testimony you take
For evidence, little of it you'll make.
And of the English, so many are guilty,
And deal under-hand, in such secrecy,
As very rare it is some one to catch,
Though you use all due means them for to watch.
Merchants, shopkeepers, traders, and planters too,
Sundry of each, spare not this thing to do;
Though many more that do the same abhor,
Whose innocence will one day answer for,
If (which God forbid) they should come to see,
(By this means,) some hurt or sad tragedy.
And these heathen, in their furious mood,
Should cruelly shed our innocent blood.
Lord, shew mercy, and graciously spare,
For thy name's sake, those that thy servants are,
And let their lives be precious in thy sight;
Divert such judgments as fall on them might;

Give them not up into these heathens' power,
Who like the greedy wolves * would them devour,

* Vox fera, trux vultus, vorissima mortis imago, — OVID.

And exercise on them their cruel rage,
Quamque lupi, sæuè plus feritatis habent.

With torments great and most salvage.
Atrocitatem anhelat omnis barbarus.

They're not content their foes only to kill,
Homo homini lupus.

But, most inhumanly, torment them will.

They're men that are skilful for to destroy,

And in others misery they do take joy.

O Lord, take pity on thy people poor,

Let them repent, amend, and sin no more;

Forgive, (dear Father,) what is done and past,

Oh save us still, and not away us cast.

Ourselves are weak, and have no strength to stand,

Do thou support us, (Lord,) with thine own hand;

When we have need, be thou our succour then,

Let us not fall into the hands of men.

When I think on what I have often read,
How, when the elders and Joshua were dead;
Who had seen those great works, and them could tell,
What God had done and wrought for Israel;
Yet they did soon forget and turn aside,
And in his truth and ways did not abide;
But i'the next age they did degenerate;
I wish this may not be New England's fate.

O you therefore that are for to succeed,
To this fair precedent, give you good heed,
And know (that, being warn'd,) if you do not,
But fall away, God's wrath 'gainst you'll be hot:
For if he spared not those that sinned of old,
But into the hands of spoilers them sold,
How can you think that you should then escape,
That do like them, and will no warning take.

O my dear friends, (and children whom I love,)
To cleave to God, let these few lines you move;

So I have done, and now will say no more,
But remember, God punished these sore.

Judges · 2 · 7 · 11 · 12 · 14 · 15 ·

FINIS.*

Melius est peccatum cavere quam emendare.

A WORD TO NEW PLYMOUTH.

O poor Plymouth, how dost thou moan,
Thy children all are from thee gone,
And left thou art in widow's state,
Poor, helpless, sad, and desolate.

Some thou hast had, it is well known,
That sought thy good before their own,
But times are changed; those days are gone,
And therefore thou art left alone.

To make others rich thyself art poor,
They are increased out of thy store,
But growing rich they thee forsake
And leave thee poor and desolate.†

* Following these verses in the original manuscript is "A Collection of some Latin Sentences," from various authors, — written, as is the former part, in Bradford's exquisite hand. Only two leaves of these now remain. — Ed.

† Bradford always deprecated the removal of its citizens from the town of Plymouth, even for the purpose of establishing other towns within the colony. He felt that it tended to weaken the original place of settlement, and thereby to draw away support from the mother church; without, perhaps, securing the maintenance of religious instruction elsewhere. In 1644, after noticing the resolution taken by some to make a settlement at Nawset, afterwards called Eastham, he concludes in a similar strain to the above: "And thus was this poor church left, like an ancient mother, grown old, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections) yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness. Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death; and those of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor." (History of Plymouth Plantation, p. 427.) — Ed.

Thy plants in England were first bred,
And kindly there were nourished
By faithful guides who did them feed,
And them assist in all their need ;

Till enemies did them envy,
And made them and their guides to fly
Over the seas to Belgic land,
Where for twelve years they made their stand.

So there they lived in love and peace,
And greatly grew and did increase ;
But when as those twelve years were done
The truce expired and wars begun.

But them a place God did provide
In wilderness, and did them guide
Unto the American shore,
Where they made way for many more.

They broke the ice themselves alone,
And so became a stepping-stone
For all others, who in like case
Were glad to find a resting-place.

From hence, as in a place secure,
They saw what others did endure
By cruel wars, flowing in blood,
Whilst they in peace and safety stood.

Fair Germany was overrun
With wars, and almost quite undone ;
Her lands were all besprinkled with blood
From Rugen shore unto Rhine flood ;

Which made the Eagle fume and fret,
Till that bright northern star was set,
The long ere that he could obtain
(With much suing) a peace again.

And though Holland did greatly quake
When Spaniard Amersford did take,
And had not Wesel then been took,
Thy haughty heart it would have shook.

And France with Spain they had such jars
Which have produced bloody wars
Which many years could not compose,
But England thereby did not lose.

Here they beheld with weeping eyes
The civil wars which did arise,
In their own land after long peace,
Praying to God that they might cease.

But like flames of fire with wind blown,
Over the three lands it soon was flown.
The bloody Irish caused to die
Three hundred thousand cruelly.*

In a few months no wolves more keen
Than these Scythian beasts have been;
But now God's hand hath them repaid,
And all their blood upon them laid.

And thou poor England hast thy part,
Even wounded to the very heart,
How many armies didst thou see
Consuming and destroying thee.

At Keinton how wast thou beset,
And Brentford may not we forget,
At Newberry the fight was sore,
But greatest was at Marston-moor.

But Nasby did thy glory crown,
Thine enemies they then went down,
"New-model" they could not withstand,
It was not they, but God's own hand;

* The dreadful massacre of the English in the Irish Rebellion of 1641 is here referred to. The number of the slain as given above is considerably overestimated. — Ed

For in short space, all was subdued,
And former peace again renewed,
Till some with false Scots made a jar,
And did contrive a second war.

The Scots to England now were led,
Duke Hamilton, he was their head.
But near to Preston, they were met,
And were by Cromwell soundly beat.

Yet once again they would make war
But were overthrown at Dunbar.
To Worcester they needs would post,
But there themselves and lands they lost.

Thus England peace again regained,
And such great victories obtained
As all three lands in one were knit,
And to one rule made to submit.

But when we thought all had been done
A foreign war was now begun
By those whom gratitude did bind
To England to have been more kind.

For when they were in low estate,
England did them compassionate.
When Spain was like them to devour
Then were they helped by English power

Who spared neither wealth nor blood,
In their distress to do them good,
But did assist them in their need,
Till from their bondage they were freed;

And made the Spaniards sue for peace,
That those sore bloody wars might cease.
And they became rich and wealthy,
And called the states High and Mighty.

But now they do them ill repay,
Begin a war in treach'rous way,
Whilst the state was in treaty held,
Their sea forces they would have quelled;

So that they might, as they should please,
Command in the English narrow seas,
And unto them to give the law,
And keep their neighbors all in awe.

But now such wars at sea were grown,
As seldom hath been ever known,
The seas with ships were overspread,
The azure waves with blood made red.

The guns like thunder rent the skies,
And fire, as lightning, swiftly flies;
The ships were torn, the masts were broke,
And all was filled with cries and smoke.

And some into the air were blown,
Others into the deep sunk down,
The Belgic Lion made to roar,
Being pursued to their own shore.

The fights were great, the wars were sore,
Such as Holland ne'er had before.
When they had tried their utmost strength,
Were glad to seek for peace at length.

A peace at last was obtained,
Which caused much joy when proclaimed,
And I believe these wars now past,
They will not break with England in haste.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, November 10th, at 11 o'clock, A.M., the President in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Mr. C. J. Hoadly, of Hartford.

The President read the following letter from Mr. Hoadly : —

HARTFORD, Nov. 2, 1870.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston.

DEAR SIR, — I have directed Mr. S. S. Crosby, of 240 Washington Street, to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society a view of the once famous Newgate of Connecticut, taken from an old copper-plate, now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Hubbard, of this city. When the plate was engraved, or by whom, I am unable to say ; but it must have been done before 1802, because in that year the picket fence was replaced by a stone wall.

I visited Newgate last summer. The building in the centre still exists, but enlarged, and is occupied as a dwelling. There is a range of buildings on the south and west sides of the enclosure, which are not represented in the plan. Perhaps they were not built when the plate was cut.

The plate seems to be little known. I have conversed with several aged persons brought up in Simsbury and Granby, near the prison, who had never seen nor heard of it. Neither Noah A. Phelps nor R. H. Phelps, — both of whom have published histories of Newgate, — seem to have been aware of the existence of this view, for it is not mentioned in their books. . . .

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

CHARLES J. HOADLY.

He also communicated, from Count A. de Circourt, a copy of his interesting review of Dean Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury, as originally printed in the "Revue Britannique."

Our associate, Dr. Dexter, presented a copy of a book, of which he is the author, entitled "The Church Polity of the Pilgrims, the Polity of the New Testament."

The President read a letter from our associate, John Foster Kirk, the author of "Charles the Bold," saying that he had changed his place of residence to Philadelphia, and therefore had ceased to be a member of the Society.

The President announced a new number of Proceedings (No. VII.), embracing the transactions of the Society for the months of June, July, August, and September, of this year.

He also called attention to a Parliamentary Blue Book, presented to him by Mr. Richard Almack, of Long Melford, County Suffolk, being the "First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts," appointed to search for documents in possession of private persons.

Mr. GEORGE T. DAVIS gave an account of the recent discovery of an original portrait of Sir William Phipps, in possession of a family in Boston:—

The discovery was the result of inquiries instituted by a native of Maine, Mr. Samuel J. Bridge, who was desirous of obtaining such a portrait, or a copy of it, for the State House at Augusta. Inquiries made through our Minister, of the Mulgrave family in England, in the mistaken idea that Sir William was connected with that family, were of course unsuccessful. A communication, published in a Portland paper, brought out the fact that a portrait, said to be of Sir William, was in the possession of a family of the name of Blackstone, formerly resident in Portland, and now in Boston, tracing its descent to Danforth Phipps, who was born in 1711, and of whom the tradition is that he was a relation of Sir William.

The owners of the portrait have a family Bible, printed in 1710, containing the usual family records, and showing the following facts:—

1. Their mother, Mrs. Lois Blackstone, born 1790, died in 1866.

2. Her mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Berry, was a Blackstone, born in 1764, died in 1846.

3. Her mother, Elinor Phipps, daughter of Danforth Phipps, born in 1733, died in 1807.

Their grandmother, Mrs. Berry, always kept this picture carefully as a portrait of Sir William, and as a picture coming by family descent.

It would seem then that the tradition is fairly enough traced to information received from Elinor Phipps, and so to a point of time within forty or fifty years of the date of Sir William's death in 1695.

An examination of the portrait itself tends to confirm the accuracy of the tradition. It represents a man about forty years of age, with periwig, bright armor on the arms and shoulders, and embroidered vest; giving the idea of a combination of military and civic position. It is very well executed, having on the back the name of Plaisted, which is probably the name of the artist.

The portrait is to be disposed of; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Bridge will succeed in his patriotic plan of obtaining a copy for the State House at Augusta, and that the picture itself will fall into the hands of some public body.

The President read the following letter from our Corresponding Member, the Hon. Hugh B. Grigsby, containing more especially an account of persons of his acquaintance who had attained the age of one hundred years and more:—

EDGEHILL, NEAR CHARLOTTE C. H., VIRGINIA,
October 17, 1870.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP:

The tributes of your Society to the memory of the late John Pendleton Kennedy came duly to hand, and were welcome to me on many accounts. I followed your outline of his life very attentively, as

I am almost old enough to remember his entire career; and as I went along with you, I was struck with the reflection, which has doubtless often occurred to you, how contemporaneously all the events of a man's life, however separated they may be by the lapse of years when he is living, appear when he is dead, and constitute a symmetry of character, which our passions or interests or heedlessness prevent us from seeing while he is living and moving in our midst. I did not know him personally, but was aware of his connection with our Pendletons of Virginia. His mother's brother, the late Philip C. Pendleton, who died in 1863 or 1864, at the age of eighty odd, was a political associate of mine more than forty years ago; and in his latter days, of his own accord, invited a correspondence with me, which was continued until our recent troubles put an end to it. If your friend Kennedy took after the Pendletons, he must have been a tall and well-proportioned man. The Kennedys are of a stouter stature and more bulky. The man who first impressed immortality on the name of Pendleton, was Edmund, who was one of our members of the first Congress, was the chairman of the Committee of Safety while Virginia was passing from the Colony to the Commonwealth, was the president of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788, and was president of our High Court of Appeals, — a great and venerable name indeed, in whose shadow repose some of the most endearing recollections of our honored past. I read with interest the remarks of Professor Lowell and of Mr. Hillard, and the letter of Dr. Holmes, and found much food for thought in what they said. I thank you again for your kindness in sending to me these memorials of your friend.

In the "Proceedings" of April of the present year, you refer to a discussion in the Society, held a year or two ago, respecting persons who are said to have reached one hundred years and more; and you mention the case of Captain Lahrbush, who has entered his 105th year. I have the honor of knowing the old gentleman, whom I met at the residence of Admiral Farragut in June, 1867, and with whom I held a pleasant conversation. As I had never before seen any one above a hundred years old, I determined to be very observant of every thing that occurred. He is a very remarkable man, possessing the faculties of his mind and body in apparent vigor, and engaging with zest in current talk. I shaped my conversation in his presence purposely to draw him out, and to watch the operations of his mind; and I indulged in some playful sallies; and I saw that he was as fully abreast of the scene, and had as clear and as ready an appreciation of the point or play of

the moment, as any of the young and brilliant persons who were present. It is, I believe, no secret with him or with his friends, that even in his latter years he used opium in very large quantities, and that from conscientious scruples he resolved to discontinue its use; but, finding that his health gave way, and that he would certainly die if he abstained from it altogether, he gradually resumed the use of it, and ascertained the exact amount which was necessary to sustain him; and he has continued to use daily this amount, which is very considerable, but which I cannot recall, without increase or diminution to the present day. He is a gentleman of the old school in more senses than one; dresses with neatness and taste, and has a well-formed, intellectual, and much younger face than his years would lead you to expect. He is stout, and rather below than above the middle size, and has a very broad chest,—characteristics which, in my experience, usually attach to persons who possess great vigor and an erect posture in extreme old age. I have said that he was of the old school in his breeding. One instance will somewhat illustrate this remark: when I rose to take leave of him, knowing that the effort to rise from the chair was difficult and often painful to very old people, I approached him so nearly as almost to touch his knees with mine, in order to prevent his rising; but the old gentleman was not so easily satisfied; for he grasped my hand, and rose by its aid to his feet, and then, and not till then, would he bid me farewell, which he did, I must add, not only with a cordial squeeze, but in some very kind and courteous words. His name is not spelt quite correctly in the "Proceedings." It is "F. Lahrbush," which I copy from a letter of his now before me. This letter is addressed to a lady whose friendship he valued highly, was written in October, 1867, and concludes with these words: "Now, my dear lady, my faithful friend, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping, and trusting on the continuance of your kind good-will and valued friendship, I am, dear lady, my kind Christian friend, yours till death."

You are aware that as people grow old, they are apt to write smaller and smaller. Such was the case with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison and Governor Tazewell; and, though not old myself, I find such is my case, without an effort to the contrary. But the handwriting of Captain Lahrbush is large, most distinct, and entirely free from tremulousness.

I now proceed to give you an account of a centenarian, a neighbor of mine, Mr. George Foster, who resides about ten miles from my house, but whom, though I have frequently sent kind messages to him,

I had never seen until the 28th of May last, when I made him a special visit. But, as it occurred to me to report his case to you, I determined to make him another visit, to look into his case minutely, and to consult all available authorities; and on Friday last I performed my purpose. I rode to Keysville, and despatched my servant to the house of Mr. James A. Foster, the oldest son of the centenarian, who resides four or five miles from his father, with a request that he would accompany me on a visit to the old gentleman. He soon arrived, and we set out on foot for his father's house. As Mr. Foster, Jr., was sixty-five years old, I offered him my horse; but he said that, as the way was on the railway bed, it was safer to go on foot, and we accordingly made our jaunt of three miles in a little while, in full conversation about his father. When we approached the house, we saw the old gentleman looking into his corn-crib, which was sixty or seventy yards distant from his dwelling, at a load of very fine corn which had just been deposited in it. He received us cordially, and invited us into the house; and by the aid of my arm and his staff, he made his way without difficulty or fatigue. When we reached the narrow steps of his porch, he withdrew his arm from mine, and, dropping his cane, he caught hold of the rail on either side of the steps; and though he was somewhat slow in his movement, he reached the platform unaided, without any serious exertion of his strength. His daughters, Mrs. Hudson, who was seventy-six on the 6th instant, and Miss Eliza H. Foster, who was fifty-four in July last, received us kindly, and we were all soon seated, including the old man and his son, around the capacious fireplace. I introduced the topic of the Revolution of 1776, and mentioned, among other things, that the British had never set foot in the County of Charlotte. Mr. Foster, who was born on the 22d of May, 1768, and was eight years old at the Declaration of Independence, observed that he remembered very well when the Delaware Blues came up and encamped on the hill in Mr. Crawford's present plantation, on which his father then lived. I told him that, although I had conversed with several citizens of the county who had served in the war, and who were older than himself at the date of that event, I had never heard that fact before; but that I knew a detachment of French soldiers had encamped at the Court House. He said that he remembered the arrival of the French very well, — that they remained some weeks in the country, — but that the Delaware Blues encamped for a day or two only. Let me add that these forces were sent from the coast to aid General Greene, when pressed by Cornwallis, who was stopped south

of the Dan, by a fresh in that stream, and were afterwards recalled. Thus the recollection of Mr. Foster has saved a waif from the past, which otherwise would have been lost for ever. As Mr. Foster was born in 1768, he was thirteen in 1781; and in answer to my inquiries, he observed that he remembered distinctly — to use his own words — “when Washington whipped Cornwallis at York.” I also tested his recollection of several prominent characters, such as John Blair Smith, who was second president of Hampden Sidney College, and a leading clergyman in all this region of country, from 1779 to 1790, when he removed to Philadelphia, and whose influence is still felt among us, and learned from Mr. Foster that he could recall him distinctly, and had heard him preach. Having thus satisfied myself of his knowledge of men and things from 1778 to 1790, I asked his son to let me look at the family Bible. One of the ladies instantly went into the next room, and brought out the venerable book, which was a quarto, and was printed in Edinburgh in 1785. I turned to the births, and found the following record, which I copy entire: —

“George Foster, son of Josiah and Elizabeth Foster, was born May 22, 1768; and Sally, his wife, was born the 16th of October, 1778 (and died July 12, 1858, aged 85).

1. Rebecca G. Foster was born 23d of September, 1792.
2. Amy J. Foster was born October 6, 1794 (Mrs. Hudson, who was present).
3. Susan D. Foster was born April 2, 1801.
4. Mary I. Foster was born Nov. 5, 1803.
5. James A. Foster was born April 30, 1806 (was present at my interview).
6. Martha A. Foster was born Sept. 30, 1808.
7. Adrian W. Foster was born March 2, 1811.
8. George I. Foster was born Aug. 8, 1813.
9. Eliza H. Foster was born July 15, 1816 (was present at my interview).
10. Sarah Foster was born March 24, 1819.”

This Bible was presented to Mr. Foster by his wife's father on his marriage in 1791, and has been in constant use ever since. The first four or five entries were made in pale ink, and are indistinct, but may be read; and many years ago Mr. Foster copied the whole in darker ink on the reverse side of the leaf. You perceive that I had this interview in the presence of three of the children of Mr. Foster, whose ages were seventy-six, sixty-five, and fifty-four, and who have been for many years consistent members of the church, and of great worth in their neighborhood. I will also state that Mr. Foster has lived an active, temperate, and industrious life, on the land given him by his father on his marriage; that he has been ever esteemed a man of integrity and

piety, having been a member of the Baptist Church for seventy years; and that his daughters and son, who were present, have been members of the same communion from their earliest life.

The *physique* of Mr. Foster differs very much from that of Captain Lahrbusch. He is five feet ten, tall and thin, and stoops considerably, walking and sitting, while the Captain is short, and as straight as an arrow. Mr. F. has lost his teeth within a few years past; his eyes are gray, and the lids are drawn closely when he looks about him. He has a benignant smile, and relishes any amusing thing uttered in his presence. He has had slight bilious complaints occasionally; but he says that he never has been dangerously ill since he had "the fever" in 1794. He has no present organic disease, and no bad habits, and may live for years to come. He sleeps well, enjoys his food, and moves freely about the house and yard without assistance. While I was chatting with the ladies, he arose quite briskly from his chair, walked into another room, filled his pipe, and, resuming his seat, lighted his tobacco, and enjoyed a pleasing smoke; and when he had done, he knocked away the ashes very carefully, and put his pipe in his pocket. Neither Ralph nor Ebenezer Erskine, who wrote those fine stanzas on tobacco, and loved a pipe, could have done the thing more graciously.

In addition to what I have already written, I will give what in the Scotch law are called *adminicula testimonii*, — adminicles of testimony, — or some odds and ends that tend to establish Mr. Foster's age, apart from his family records. On the wall of his front room is a large sampler, worked by the needle, and containing moral sentences and striking dates; and among the latter is this: "George Foster, born May 22, 1768." Now this sampler was worked by a grandchild of the patriarch more than twenty years ago, when he was not over 80, which is not deemed remarkable in this county, as I may presently show.

George C. Smith, Esq., is aged about fifty-five, has for thirty years been a member of the Baptist Church, has attended the same church with Mr. Foster since 1843, a space of twenty-seven years, and watched his progress to ninety, and to his present age of one hundred and two.

William Cardwell, Esq., will be seventy-one on the 7th of November next; was born, and has always lived, within nine miles of Mr. Foster; has known Mr. F. from his own childhood; recollects Mr. F. as a middle-aged man, when he could first recall him; remembers his arrival at the age of ninety, and has chronicled his years to the present time.

But the strongest testimony, apart from records, is that of Mrs. Lucy Bailey, who resides within one mile of Mr. Foster; is his relative, has been a member of the church for over sixty years, and is now eighty-seven years old, retaining her faculties in as great a degree as has, perhaps, been seen in our time. She states that she has known Mr. Foster all her life, that she has always known his age, and that from her own observation alone she knows that he cannot be less than one hundred and two years old.

I can also state that I have resided within ten miles of Mr. Foster for thirty years, that I have always known him as an extremely aged man, that I remember his arrival at ninety, and at one hundred, and that I have often sent kind messages to him.

Mr. Foster, Jr., mentioned a fact concerning his father, which may be sustained by the public records. He says that his father was draughted into the militia, and sent to Norfolk in March, 1813; and that he became forty-five, or muster-free, on the 22d of May following, and returned home. Add the interval from 1813 to 1870, and we have the one hundred and two years.

When I speak of distance, as, for instance, of nine miles, I refer to the state of facts with us, and not with you. Nine miles with us may often be measured by four or five estates, that is, by the intervention of not more than four or five farmers. I live within a mile and a quarter of my nearest neighbor, because the sites of our dwellings are within that distance; but if my neighbor had built on the western extremity of his land, and I on the eastern extremity of the land on which I live, there would have been an interval of six miles between us.

Excuse this long epistle, and believe me,

Ever truly yours,

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated meeting was held on the 8th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The records of the preceding meeting were read.

The Librarian read the list of donors for the past month.

The Rev. George Punchard was elected a Resident Member; and Mr. John Foster Kirk, of Philadelphia, was elected a Corresponding Member.

A communication was received from the Committee of Arrangements of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, inviting the Historical Society to be present "by a delegate" on the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; to take place on Wednesday, the 21st instant.

Voted, That the Society accept the invitation; and that, as our President is engaged as the orator of the occasion, and as our first Vice-President may be prevented from being present, Governor Washburn, the second Vice-President, be appointed the delegate.

Mr. Deane read the following letter from Abraham Eustis, "Major Light Artillery" (afterward Brigadier General), addressed to his uncle, the Hon. William Eustis, dated "Niagara Camp, 4 Mile Creek, May 11, 1813," giving an interesting account of the battle of "York," now Toronto. The letter was kindly furnished by Professor Henry L. Eustis, of Harvard College, a son of the writer:—

NIAGARA CAMP, 4 MILE CREEK, May 11th, 1813.

DEAR SIR,—Presuming you will hear a thousand idle and exaggerated reports of the affair of York, I shall endeavour to give you a correct statement of it. On the 23rd ult. the troops under the command of General Pike, being 2,000 effective men, with six pieces of artillery, embarked on board the fleet at Sackett's Harbour. On the 25th weighed anchor with a fair wind, and stood up the lake. On the 27th, at sunrise, we were off the York Light House: at about 7 o'clock

the fleet dropt anchor about two miles below the principal fort, and the signal was made for the troops to disembark. There were boats sufficient to land something upwards of 300 men at once. The order of debarkation was established by General Pike, as follows: Major Forsyth's Rifle Corps to land first, form a chain and cover the landing of the troops of the line; the sixteen platoons of the 1st Brigade under Colonel Pearce; three platoons, as a reserve for the 1st Brigade, under Major Swan; Major Eustis's train of Artillery; the 21st Infantry and McClure's Volunteers, as a second line of reserve, under Lieut.-Colonel Ripley. As soon as the signal was made to debark, the boats were filled by the Riflemen and two platoons of the 15th Infantry, and pulled for the shore. The wind blew fresh out of the harbour; and our boats fell to leeward, a half a mile farther than where it was intended to land. Where they at last struck the shore, it was skirted by a thick wood, which was occupied by the Grenadiers of the 8th, or King's Regiment, a part of the Newfoundland Regiment, a body of militia, and about fifty Indians. They commenced firing as our boats approached the shore, with however but little effect. Our men landed under their fire, and with the greatest gallantry immediately ascended the bank, and struck into the wood, where a very sharp conflict took place, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, when the enemy retreated, and took post behind a redoubt containing three eighteen-pounders. Too much credit cannot be given to Forsyth's Corps for their conduct in this affair. They displayed great coolness and undaunted bravery. During the engagement, two of the schooners hauled in near the shore, and threw grape-shot into the wood, which, though it had no other effect, served to alarm the militia and Indians, who soon took to their heels. In this action we lost Captain Hoppock and Lieutenant Bloomfield killed, and about ten privates; Captain Smith, Lieutenant Purlee, and about twenty non-commissioned and privates wounded. We could not exactly ascertain the loss of the enemy; but we buried fifty-seven of them on the field, including four commissioned officers.

Between ten and eleven o'clock our troops were all landed, our artillery mounted, and the column formed. Four or five of the schooners had, by this time, beat up to the fort and commenced a cannonade. The enemy returned a brisk but ill-directed fire from his several batteries, by which one midshipman and two or three seamen were killed, and the vessels uninjured. Our column, being now on the march to attack, had advanced within about eighty rods of the redoubt behind which the enemy was stationed, when a large chest of ammu-

dition in it exploded, dismounted two of the guns, and destroyed about fifty of their best men. The enemy immediately abandoned it, and retreated towards the fort. We pressed on after him, until we approached near the second battery, which was likewise abandoned. This was a two-gun battery, on a small rising ground about fifty rods from the fort. I here proposed to General Pike to allow me to bring the two twelve-pounders to the front, reverse the battery, and fire under cover of it into the fort and block-house, which we supposed still occupied by the enemy. He accordingly halted the column. The twelve-pounders and one six-pounder were brought forward, commenced firing, and had discharged about three rounds, when an explosion took place, which I will not attempt to describe. It was more horrible, more awful, and, at the same time, more sublime, than my pen can pourtray. At first the air was darkened with stones, rafters, and clay. In about half a minute the infernal shower descended and dealt destruction to our column. Hardly a man escaped without a bruise; 250 were either killed, or seriously wounded; among them our leader, the gallant Pike. In about two minutes we recovered from the shock sufficiently to look about us. The column had recoiled on itself about twenty yards, and the ground at the head of it was covered with the dead and dying. The fort before us was in ruins, the enemy was discovered in full retreat nearly a mile beyond it; and we at once understood that he had fired a train to the magazine, which was the cause of the explosion. It was directly determined to conceal for the present the fall of the General, the platoons were rallied, and Colonel Pearce, the senior officer, was urged to lead us instantly forwards. In five minutes we were again on the line of march, and passed over the ruins of the fort, by the stockade fort and barracks to the entrances of the village, where unfortunately Colonel Pearce ordered a halt. A flag passed between him and a Colonel Chewet of the York Militia. Something like a capitulation was entered into. More than an hour was consumed in drawing up the articles; and in the mean time General Sheaffe, with his staff, and about 100 regulars, made his escape.

Thus terminated the capture of York, which appears to have been the grand depot of Upper Canada. The quantity of stores of every description found there was immense, being ten times more than we could carry away. The loss of the enemy is doubtless very severe. The gain to us is, in my opinion, far overbalanced by the loss of Pike, and the brave men who fell with him. Had he lived, it would have been indeed a victory; for I am sure we should have secured Sheaffe, and every one who was under arms with him. General Dearborn

assumed the command the day after Pike's death, and remained on shore some days. The fleet brought the troops over here on the 8th instant, and sailed on the 10th for Sackett's Harbour, to bring up reinforcements. On their return, it is understood, we are to attack the stronghold of Fort George, where I think we shall have hard fighting, though I do not doubt of success.

There is yet no probability of the Light Artillery being mounted, and as I am now with Colonel Porter I am without command.

With my best respects for Mrs. Eustis,

I am, Sir, your very obed't,

ABR'M EUSTIS,

Major Lt. Artlly.

Hon. WM. EUSTIS.

Indorsed,—

A. EUSTIS,

May, 1813.

The Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, the Treasurer and the Librarian, were appointed a committee to consider whether any alterations in the By-Laws are desirable, and to report at the next meeting.

Mr. Ellis Ames produced for exhibition a manuscript copy of the statutes or laws of the Plymouth Colony, in one hundred and sixty-four long and closely written pages, certified by, and in the handwriting of, Nathaniel Morton, who was Secretary of the Plymouth Colony from some time in the year 1645 until his death, June 28, 1685.

The manuscript was entire and contained the address to the inhabitants of New Plymouth, the revision of the laws of 1658, with all the supplements, down through the year 1666. It was a copy of the Plymouth statutes then extant, and before any of them had been printed. Mr. Ames stated that he had owned this copy twenty years or more; that he was satisfied, after much inquiry, that it was the only one now in existence of a number of copies then made to be sent to the several towns in the colony; that he had no doubt it was the copy sent by Secretary Morton in 1667, by order of the Plymouth government, to the town of Bridgewater. Mr. Ames said that about twenty years ago he overhauled the manu-

scripts, papers, and documents in a very large old chest in the garret of the mansion of the late Hon. Daniel Howard, of West Bridgewater, who died in August, 1833, aged eighty-four years, and found this manuscript; that Mr. Howard was representative in the General Court of the old town of Bridgewater for the political year 1786-7; a senator of Plymouth County for the political years 1788-9 to 1793-4 inclusive; a member of the Massachusetts Convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and of the Convention for the Amendment of the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1820; a judge of the Court of Common Pleas; and again representative of Bridgewater for the political years 1813-14 to 1819-20 inclusive. He was profoundly versed in the history of the country, especially of the Plymouth Colony, and a great local antiquary; and was born and brought up in the ancient dwelling-house built by his great grandfather, John Howard, taken down about the year 1825, in which the selectmen of the ancient town of Bridgewater held their meetings from the time of King Philip's war until in the year 1817, when he himself saw them assemble and meet there; and that without doubt Judge Howard found that manuscript in the garret of that old house, and removed it, many years ago, to his own house as a rare curiosity.

The President read a letter from the venerable Frederick Lahrbush, now in the one hundred and fifth year of his age, dated at "New York, 5th December, 1870." In a memorandum appended to the letter, he states that he was "born in London, England, on March 9th, 1766; employed in Civil Service on the Continent; returned to England, 1808, and following year received ensign's commission; embarked for Portugal, 1818; retired from service as a Captain."

Mr. Ellis Ames presented a copy of a book entitled "Report to the Rt. Honorable the Master of the Rolls upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. By Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. London, 1866."

The President, referring to Mr. Waterston's recent return from his tour to California, and his presence at this meeting, expressed the hope that the Society might hear from him in reference to his journey.

Mr. Waterston responded, and gave briefly some interesting reminiscences of his trip to "the far West."

Professor Washburn spoke of having seen, while in London, at Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the original Domesday Book; and he exhibited to the meeting a portion of it as printed in *fac-simile*.

The President read a letter, addressed to himself, from Mr. George H. Chapman, of Saybrook, Conn., dated Nov. 19, enclosing an account of the Fenwick family, and saying that, "by reason of our Valley Railroad running near the grave of Lady Fenwick, whom your ancestor, no doubt, helped to bury, our old town appointed a committee to remove the remains. We attended to that duty yesterday, and were eminently successful in finding the bones entire, after a lapse of two hundred and twenty-two years. A large volume of braided hair was found about the scull, so little decayed that the color was easily detected, being a light auburn. The teeth were sound; and, from the length of the jaw, I should think she was a woman above the medium size. The remains will be reinterred in our ancient cemetery, from the Congregational Church. . . . You are invited to be present."

Mr. Chapman's letter enclosed another to himself, from Mr. R. D. Smith, of Guilford, giving a sketch of Lady Alice Fenwick (who was the wife of George Fenwick) and of her family; and also a slip from the New York "Evening Post," of 22d November, of a like import.*

* A few days after the meeting at which this communication was made, the Society was presented with a small pamphlet, by the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, entitled "Reinterment of the remains of Lady Alice Apsley Boteler, wife of George Fenwick, Esq. Nov. 23, 1870. (Reported for the Hartford 'Daily Courant,' Nov. 24.)" —Eds.

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